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FACING FACTS

“LITTLE JULIE”



THE CHILD THAT NEARLY CAUSED
A WAR

(See page 179)

FACING FACTS

A Political Survey for the Average Man

M. FOLLICK

Author of
The Influence of English

With 25 Illustrations

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**BEWARE
EUROPE!**



Curtain Raiser

FIRE, Bloodshed, Famine! From March, 1918, to November, 1918, the world rocked between hope and despair. The British front cracked, the German front broke down, the Portuguese were erased, Russia was smothered in blood, Austria went to pieces. There was a helter-skelter of kings, emperors and princes. The world groaned in the birth-pangs of a new civilisation. The volcano gave birth to a hope: the League of Nations.

Was this tragedy really at an end! Yes, it really was the last of all the wars! The Great War to end war. Thank God, my son will never have to go through what my husband went through! Thank God, my brother will never have to go through what my father died for! Aeroplanes, Zeppelins, Big Berthas, Flammenwerfer, gases, asphyxiation! Mutilated, deformed, blinded, smashed and crippled human forms writhing over the earth. Thousands and thousands of men buried alive and thousands and thousands of men not buried: dead.

The last great sacrifice! The dawn of universal brotherhood was rising from out the blood-stained skies. Never again was war to be allowed to disgrace humanity. What a filthy business! And what was it all for? Wrecked cities, wrecked nations, a wrecked world. Now to build and forget. Never again to be any questions of race, colour or creed. Every man to have the right to his own belief and belongings. Hail Utopia! Toll your bells, but let your carillons peal. Throw open your gates: the Messiah is without.

A smallish gentleman walked up the length of red

carpet leading to the House of Commons. A badly balanced top-hat on his head. Short-sighted, with spectacles rather far down his nose. A little round-shouldered and shaky. Large ears, thin-haired and frock-coated. A very ordinary-looking being: a personage with no personality. Clean-shaven, prominent teeth, thin-chinned. Slowly he walked along the strip of carpet that led into that Holy of Holies where are made the laws of Britain.

Horror of Horrors! Disembowelled men. Disembowelled women. Headless men and headless women. Murder, robbery, rape and pillage. Men and women without arms. Children without legs. Smashed, tattered and torn.

Peace. Eternal peace. Loving peace. Peace for and among all nations for ever. What an Idea! What an Ideal! The League of Nations: a Parliament for the World. World law and order. All races shall be equal, all men shall have their rights. All nations shall be free.

Never had any man risen to such eminence. The most decisive man in the most decisive epoch. The mightiest citizen of the most powerful nation. A man greater than a nation. A man who made and unmade nations. Fourteen Points he gave the world and Four Principles. A Code of Laws for the world, a Court of Law for civilization.

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Woodrow Wilson.

Introduction

THE purpose of this book is to give the average man a general idea of the condition of things obtaining in Europe and to show him how he may be affected, in one way or another, politically and economically, by the disturbance of Peace. It explains how these conditions have arisen, their causes, and what will be the consequences if things are allowed to continue as they are going. It points the way to a solution for each individual difficulty, how these remedies may be introduced, the result of the adoption of such remedies, and the difference it will make to the European concert.

No comparison can be drawn between the Europe of to-day and the Europe of pre-War days. Europe to-day is in a state of chaotic disruption. In pre-War days we did know where we were. To-day we do not. In pre-War days we enjoyed quite a fair sprinkling of liberty and justice; very little of that exists to-day, although tens of millions fought and died because we thought the liberty and justice that we then enjoyed was not enough. The Censor was practically unknown, as far as newspapers were concerned, in any part of Europe with the exception of Russia. No passports were required, no proofs of identity; you could travel from one end of the world to the other without bother or interference; there were few restrictions. Every country, even in the Balkans, had their elected parliaments. But the great thing was that in pre-War days Europe had nearly become an international, co-operative, economic compound. Finance was international, trade was international, travel was international and the general outlook of the world was international. To-day, with very few exceptions, parliaments have almost disappeared,

or else their functions have been limited. Everywhere there is a censor in full power. When travelling you are held up everywhere, on every frontier, with endless questionnaires to fill in. Your money is always suspect and explanations required, causing the individual, who does not travel very much, a lot of worry and irritation. Everybody has to carry a passport, and whatever hotel you go to demands some sort of identification. Co-operation between the States has practically broken down. Every State wants to develop on its own lines, without regard to any other State. Jealousy and hatred reign supreme. Suspicion is everywhere. Every nation, no matter how small, is becoming more and more pent up in its own peculiar egotism, thus eschewing collaboration with its neighbours and co-operation with farther-flung countries.

Prior to 1914, everybody knew that a war was coming, and we had a good idea how it was coming and almost when it was coming. We knew, more or less, who would take sides in that war, who would be on one side and who would be on the other. We even knew, in a manner of speaking, where the war would break out. Right from Bismarck to Salisbury responsible Ministers had maintained that the match that would set fire to the powder-barrel would be lit in the Balkans. The von Schlieffen plan of the German attack was known to all military experts of all countries years before the War began. It was discussed openly amongst officers of all nationalities, as well as what the French defence would be. The plan itself was formulated at least ten years before the War started: von Schlieffen himself died eighteen months before the War started. If he had lived to carry out his own plan history might have been different. Von Moltke used von Schlieffen's plan but he did not have the advantage of von Schlieffen's brain to direct it. Von Schlieffen in his plan made provision for the immediate arrival of the British Expeditionary Force, which would fight side by side with the French, exactly as it actually happened. He even estimated this British Expeditionary Force at 100,000 men. Everything was well known, years ahead. Although Italy belonged to the Triple Alliance, Germany

always recognized the great possibility that Italy would never fight alongside Austria, and she never really counted upon Italian support. In fact, a fortnight before war broke out the Italian banks had practically ceased operations with the German banks, although they were still carrying on business as usual with the French and English banks.

But to-day we know nothing. All we know is that if a major conflagration comes France will be on one side and Germany will be on the other ; but we have not the vaguest idea who will be on Germany's side and who will be with the French. We think we have ideas, but we know, from the cases of Poland and Italy, how far those ideas are just hazy suppositions. The only sure thing is that the actual circumstances and conditions, sooner or later, are bound to force Europe into a war, and a much bitterer conflict than the 1914-1918 conflict. Prior to 1914 the very co-operation between the States made it difficult to start a war. The last war was years in starting. But to-day every State is drawing itself into itself, covering itself with a mass of restrictions and laying claim to numberless fantastic supposed rights of one description and another ; and so we are just heading for a war and, when the time comes, we shall surely find ourselves in a bigger mix-up than ever before we know where we are, not knowing whom we can depend upon and whom not.

Great Britain is quite as responsible for this chaos as any other nation. We have had no foreign policy and no foreign minister of any distinction. The old policy of Britain was to look after the smaller nations of Europe and to see that they obtained some semblance of fair play in their political intercourse with their neighbours. In return, many of these smaller nations developed into real strongholds of British policy in Europe. Britain was always the rock on whose sure and definite policy these smaller nations could depend. To-day there are at least a dozen vigorous nations of between six and twenty million inhabitants each in Europe. Our foreign policy seems to ignore the existence of these nations.

Ever since the War, with the exception of the two intervals of Labour Administration, British policy has been woolly, wobbling and indecisive. Paradoxically enough, when Labour were in office, they followed the truly British traditional policy of the balance of power. It was quite true that it was entirely a peace policy, tending towards internationalism, but the very effects of this policy were those that would have been produced by the orthodox balance of power policy. Otherwise, whether it was a Coalition, a Conservative or a National Government in power, there was no definite Foreign policy whatsoever. Sometimes we were flirting with France, at other times we were saying "Naughty, naughty!" to Italy; again it was a "Hail and let us forget, brother" attitude towards Germany, but no policy could have been less British and less definite. The nations of Europe did not know where they were with us, nor did we know ourselves, if it came to that. On both occasions, when the Labour Party left office, they left the Continent of Europe in a better state than they found it. The whole time that the other Governments were in power, and in pretty solid power at that, absolutely no definitely British policy was produced or followed. The result has been that the nations of Europe who did not want to get mixed up in the squabbles of France, Germany, or Italy, had no other great nation to whom they could turn for guidance and leadership. All the others may be small nations, but, put together, they represent a mighty important body.

We live on nations trading with each other. We live on the nations being at peace with each other. War of any kind, anywhere, means a loss of business for us. We are by Providence designed to be the most important factor in peace. Our foreign policy should therefore tend definitely towards being a peace policy, not a half-hearted peace policy, a definite and almost an aggressive peace policy because we, as a nation, can only thrive upon a peaceful world. Our policy must be British, straightforward and definite, so that the rest of the world may know exactly where they stand with us.

Now, what should be Britain's part in all this chaos? Are we going to take the lead, as has been our century-old tradition, and point a way out of this phantasmagoria, so that the nations of Europe will have at least an example to follow and a rock to depend upon? Or are we going to continue making our foreign policy depend upon the foreign policies of France, Germany and Italy? If we are going to take this lead then there can be no question of Isolationists, Europeanists or Americanists. We have to give a straightforward, definite lead for the principles for which we stand. We have to be Isolationists and we have to be non-Isolationists at the same time. We have to be Europeanists and Americanists and non-Europeanists and non-Americanists. We have to form our policy to suit our own special needs and conditions, always remembering that we are a tremendous universal empire, and anything that affects any part of our empire affects a large part of the outside world as well, and anything that affects even the smallest of nations affects some part of our Empire. We are the one nation in the world that can take this lead without causing jealousy and mistrust. If we do it, it might be salvation. If we do not do it, it means Armageddon.

The real policy of England—apart from questions which involve her own particular interests—is to be the champion of justice and right.

LORD PALMERSTON.

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Retrospective

ONE of the principal things to be noted in connection with the Great European War was the logical grouping of the two parties of belligerents. All the Latin, Slav and Anglo-Saxon nations stood together on one side, while the nations under Germanic control stood on the other. The only exception was the minute czardom of Bulgaria. But Bulgaria did not enter the War out of sympathy for the Germanic cause. Bulgaria entered the War to requite her losses in the second Balkan war and out of pure hatred towards Roumania, Greece and Serbia. All Bulgaria's sympathies were with Russia, and the proof of this lies in the fact that one of the best, if not the very best, Bulgarian general, Dimitrieff, was given command of a Russian army which he led to victory across the Carpathians. The Bulgarians at heart were far from being hand and head locked up in the Germanic cause. The people, from the very first, were dead against war with Russia. Russia was, and had always been, Bulgaria's elder brother.

But the Czar Ferdinand was not a Bulgarian at heart. He was a Coburg; a shrewd business man like all the Coburgs. His throne, for which he had staked so much, was tottering under him. The terrible results of the second Balkan adventure were oppressing his very dynasty. He had gambled the whole weight of his minute empire on a die's throw. His eyes wandered to the empires of the other Coburgs. Leopold of little Belgium, without losses, had built up a tremendous African colony

that would make his name legendary in his kingdom throughout all times. Edward VII had made his Empire greater than it had ever been. The Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, and now the virtually launched Union of South Africa would, with India and Egypt, be regarded as a mosaic of solid rock throughout all histories. At a critical time Britannic power had been reined together by such a diplomatic hand that the independence of every component part was guaranteed without disjoining the interdependence of the whole. All the enmity, insularity and jealousy that formed so outstanding a feature of the Victorian era was quietly dislodged by this most diplomatic of diplomats. *His* was the quiet, invisible diplomacy that required no *mailed fist* nor sounding of war-trumpets. *His* was the German blood, born in England and matured in France. He understood the value of keeping quiet to hear what silence says. For him, arms were the last resource. Arms were made to defend the Mother Country ; to attack an innate enemy, silent diplomacy was ever so much more potent. The diplomat who plays his losing card with a smile on his lips may win the game ; the one who plays it with a snarl is irremediably lost.

And all this understood our Edward of England. He knew that the British nation was not for war. He knew that a progressive Liberal government was preparing to tear down old institutions which had existed since England was England. To oppose it was to oppose England as a whole. He hated the onflowing tide of Labourism, but to attempt to repel it would have been undiplomatic. And King Edward, the king who hardly pronounced a speech of any importance throughout his life, has gone down to posterity as one of the greatest diplomats of all times. He knew that to choose the right moment to speak was all-important, but he understood better than any other living monarch or statesman of his time that to know when to be silent was the golden rule of diplomacy. So he smiled and kept silent. That silence spoke for itself. He consolidated our Empire in the most rock-bestrewn epoch through which our ship of state has

passed, when the nails were rusty and the planks warped. Never was so heterogeneous an Empire so solid, so enthusiastic, so admired throughout the world, as *his* Empire on the day of his death. Without his demanding tribute, vassals came from all the world to lay their tribute at his feet, vassals whose only desire was to be recognized as citizens of his Empire. He who had never worried about acquiring popular admiration, found his enemies of but a few years previous ready to lay down their lives for him. He, the greatest free-thinker of his day, found the religious sects of the whole world seeking the protection of his defenceless arm. He was the herald of the new morn, the herald that comes with the approach of day, not the one who commands the day to accompany him. He sought the welfare of his people rather than the glory of his dynasty. He died as died the most humble of citizens and was proclaimed by universal voice the mightiest of Cæsars.

But all this did not understand Ferdinand of Bulgaria. He was educated in the Bismarckian School; the school of treachery, the school of force and armed argument. He had seen two neighbouring nations grow strong and mighty. Two mighty nationalities had been forged in his near. Bismarck and Moltke had crushed their enemies with their iron heel, and had brought their Fatherland to birth on a bed of Arms. Garibaldi and Cavour had welded into unity the sundered Italian soil; the former pair had forced their opportunity, while the second had waited patiently for their moment to arrive. He saw how Bismarck used Austria as his tool to crush Denmark and seize Schleswig-Holstein, and then, treacherously, without warning, fall on his ally at Königgrätz. He remembered the falsified telegram of Ems and the blinding defeat of France. He loved the Prussian display of military fireworks. He adored his contemporary William's manner of addressing and ordering about his sixty million souls. He longed to hear in Sofia the jingle of military spurs and hubbub of officers' voices as he had heard them at Berlin, to be instantly silenced by stiff salute at his passing. He preferred the ponderous flight of the massive

Prussian eagle to the lofty soaring of the light-limbed Italian falcon. He saw a degenerate Turkey at his side, just as Prussia had seen a degenerate Austria. He could ally himself to Serbia and bring down the proud Mussulman living on the glory of legendary days. He would then attack Serbia to deprive her of her part in the spoil and then prepare for the great day when he should proclaim himself Emperor of the Balkans after a victorious entry into Bucharest. Roumania should be for Ferdinand what France was for Bismarck. He had tired of the title of Prince and had himself proclaimed King and afterwards Czar. He suffered from chronic megalomania. He drilled his soldiers and trained his army.

The moment came when Italy declared war on Turkey. The Italians defeated the Turks, completely annihilating their fleet. This was the moment Ferdinand had waited for. Greece had a fair fleet, Serbia had splendid cavalry and good artillery. An Alliance was formed. Two days after Turkey had signed the peace contract with Italy at Lausanne, the 15th October, 1912, war between Turkey and the Balkan League commenced.

Everything went better than could ever have been expected. Ferdinand was declared commander-in-chief of the Balkan Allies and the Turk was soon down and begging for mercy. Once the Turk was out of the way and finished, Ferdinand wanted to do with Serbia what Prussia did with Austria after their combined victory over Denmark. Accordingly he treacherously attacked Serbia. But he had counted without his host. His armies were hopelessly beaten by the Serbians, Greeks and Montenegrins, and he, in his turn, was forced to beg for mercy. So his idea of the great Balkan Empire vanished never to return.

It is possible that he would still have been able to go on reigning, in his microscopic empire, and even to have left a far larger land to his successors than he had received, but he was smarting under his defeat. He longed to recover his lost prestige. His was no longer the unbeatable Bulgaria of the Balkans. However, he still earnestly believed in the Bismarckian system of policy. "The

end justifies the means." When the Great European War raged over all Europe, when, in October of 1915, Serbia was almost in her death-throes battling with Austria, heroically resisting the invader tooth and nail, Ferdinand declared war, and marched on Nish.

But the Bulgarian people did not enter the European War heart and soul as they entered the war against Turkey. Turkey was their mortal enemy. Turkey threatened the existence of their country and their religion. The war with Turkey was popular throughout Bulgaria. But not so the war against the Entente, with Turkey as ally. Even after the second Balkan adventure, Bulgaria was considerably greater and more important than it had been before the war with Turkey. She was still the strongest nation of the Balkans, in spite of her recent defeat ; no Balkan people would have dared single-handed to declare war on Bulgaria. Her army was better trained with a discipline much more rigidly enforced than even in many of the great European armies. At least one of its generals, Dimitrieff, had distinguished himself as a strategist comparable with the best German or Russian generals at the outbreak of the War. So that the security of Bulgarian soil was neither threatened nor at stake. But the dream of Emperor of the Balkans still hovered before the Bulgarian Ferdinand's eyes. The bitter taste of recent defeat still galled him. What did the feelings of his people matter to him ! The Prussian lame-armed William had taught him that the glory of a dynasty spells national glory. He had seen how his Prussian cousin treated his subjects and thought he could do the same. He must crush these qualms of conscience, for the sake of the greater Bulgaria. He must avenge his defeated country, whether his subjects wanted vengeance or not.

But popular will is not so easily played with. In the end the nation's sympathies prevailed, and it was Malinoff at the head of a Bulgarian Government who finally put a definite end to the Great European War. Ferdinand, against his will, was obliged to accept an anti-German Cabinet. National feeling was aroused beyond

boiling-point. Hardly had the first of the Allied soldiers crossed the Bulgarian frontiers when an armistice was petitioned and granted.

During the whole time that Bulgaria was in the War there was an evident dissatisfaction among the people. Even during the moment of their lightning-like victory, neither the soldiers nor their officers showed a spirit of enthusiasm. Dimitrieff, who was commanding a Russian army in the Carpathians, the greatest and most popular of all the Bulgarian generals, returned to Ferdinand all the honours and decorations gained when commanding against Turkey. Bulgaria felt that Russia was her elder brother, but the Czar Ferdinand was not Bulgarian and had no such sentiment.

But apart from this one exception of Bulgaria the nations at war between 1914 and 1918 were grouped together according to the dominating languages of their respective countries, independent of all question of religion or race. The Jews of the Entente took up the question of war against Germany with as much enthusiasm as any other citizens of France, England, Italy, America, etc., and their countries entrusted them with the solution of some of the most vital problems. Lord Reading was sent as plenipotentiary to Washington; Monash was Commander-in-Chief of the Anzacs and Montagu was appointed Secretary of State for India. The same applied to all the other nations at war. Sonnino and Luzzatti fought stubbornly for the national aspirations of Italy, and yet they were Jews. Never was the truth of the autocratical power of a common language so clearly demonstrated as in this war. The decisive factor was language.

The Central Powers formed the great Germanic block; Anglo-Saxons, Latins and Slavs were their opponents. But the Germanic block was Germanic only in name; it was in no way a German-speaking homogeneity. Within it were many Slav-speaking and Magyar units. The Magyar would have fought just as lustily alongside Germany as France did alongside England, because they both had a common enemy: the Slav. The Turk,

Magyar and German would have built just as solid a block as the Anglo-Saxon, Latin and Slav, but not so the other units of Austria-Hungary. The Poles, Czechs, Croats and Slovenes were people speaking Slavonic languages. These races resisted every attempt that had been made to denationalize them. Germany and Hungary had done all in their power to stamp out their languages. And indeed they were well on their way to success when the War started. But with the outbreak of war came a renewal of national pride in their languages. Poles, Czechs and Slavs offered themselves willingly as recruits in the armies of the Allies. A Polish army was formed in France. A Czech army made its appearance in Italy and the Croats deserted the Magyars *en masse* to offer themselves as volunteers in Russian brigades. The world was surprised at the ease with which the Russians captured the proudest of Austrian fortresses and yet succumbed lamely before a German onslaught. Germany alone was as near to being homogenous as any other nation; but Austria-Hungary was quite the contrary. Germany, with rigid discipline, had even been able to weaken, to a great extent, the influence of the Polish language in the Posen district and French in Lorraine. Not so Austria. Austria-Hungary was a dual monarchy in which there was a constant struggle between the Austrians and Hungarians as to who should have supremacy. So that whatever Austria wanted Hungary opposed; and *vice versa*. There was always open discussion as to whether Austria and Hungary would become separated on the death of Kaiser Franz Josef. Perhaps this was one of the principal reasons for Germany's precipitating the War as she did, because with Austria-Hungary as her ally, Germany was a terrible foe, but left to herself her enemies would have soon given account of her: especially the class and number of enemies with whom she had surrounded herself prior to 1914.

In all probability Germany would have repeated the old Prussian game had she been victorious in the Great War. That is to say, Austria and Germany together would have entirely subdued Hungary. But up to 1914

Hungary was just as important a factor in the dual monarchy as Austria herself, with the difference that Hungary always strove against following Austria's lead. This is probably the reason that war was declared on Serbia directly by the Foreign Minister, Count Berchtold, a Hungarian, and not from the Austrian Parliament—the Reichsrath. Both Austria and Hungary were in reality vassals of Germany, only Austria, influenced by the language-tie, was naturally much more swayed by Germany than Hungary. Besides this, Count Tisza, the Hungarian Prime Minister, although in no way a friend of Austria, was a great admirer of Germany and the then German Emperor. And this the German Emperor well knew and knew also how to take advantage of it. He knew that a declaration of war from the Viennese Parliament would probably be opposed by Hungary. But he also knew that a declaration of war from the Hungarian, Count Berchtold, would be meekly accepted by Vienna if approved of by Berlin.

The Turco-Balkan war had completely upset the toilsome schemes which Germany had been forging for her pacific conquest of the Balkans. Turkey had given mute acquiescence to the Prussian plan of Germanizing the Balkans. Germany had already begun her pacific campaign with the Bagdad railway. German masters were sent to Constantinople. Marschal von Bieberstein played as important a part in Turkish politics as the Grand Vizir himself. Von der Goltz was the recognized head of the Turkish armies. Austria-Hungary had already annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina. The next move would be the annexation of the Sanjak of Novibazar. This would keep Serbia and Montenegro definitely separated, and prevent all possible meddling of these latter in Austro-Hungarian affairs, with a view to helping their brothers of race but recently definitely enchained in the dual monarchy. Once these South Slavs were fully digested there would be no difficulty in occupying the direct route to Salonika. This was the great dream of the German Emperor. A direct route from Hamburg to Salonika ; a linking up of the Baltic with the Mediterranean. To have a Hamburg

and a Kiel in the south of Europe as well as in the north. To threaten the Briton's home and his colonial power at one and the same time.

Once this was all achieved the real work of the Bagdad railway would begin: the Germanizing of the Near East. The whole of the Ottoman Empire should be brought under Prussian sway, and this would be the starting-point for the conquest of Persia and India, Egypt and the Soudan. One direct railway from Hamburg through Persia to India, and over the Suez Canal to Egypt. Italy, France and Spain would fall easy victims once the Briton had received his death-blow. The German power would be felt throughout the world. His empire would be one solid undivided block from end to end. The sway of the Holy Roman Emperor of the German people would be revived in all its ancient splendour. But everything must be prepared without arousing jealousy. Every move of Germany's was watched, criticized and suspected. The slightest false move on the European draughts-board would be the signal for a general rush to arms. And the Emperor preferred to get as much as possible without resorting to war. So he preached of justice and social reform and kept his army for the last moment. Everything had to be prepared in secret. Only the final blow would be given in open daylight. Therefore he limited himself to supporting the claims of Austria, and urging Austria to make these claims. He knew that Austria was not regarded as an enemy by either England or France. He therefore veiled his stealthy movements behind his Austrian screen. Turkey was fast falling a prey to the treble eagles. The affair of Bosnia-Herzegovina nearly brought about a European war. The Kaiser continued his preparation of the German people by publicly speaking of the divine mission which he was elected to fulfil.

Among those who studied the secret diplomacy of Europe there existed at least one man, Theophile Delcassé, who clearly saw through those subtly woven plans. He it was who understood to what extremes fantastic megalomania was aiming to extend its hegemony. But

France in that moment stood alone in the world. The French people were neither understood nor appreciated. Neither did they have any real right to be understood or appreciated. Their politics were conducted on very questionable lines. They were beginning a new epoch in European morals. They did all they could to be misunderstood by every moderately right-minded foreigner. French literature and the theatre were embarking on a course that for a long time to come scandalized the rest of Europe. Their ideas went far beyond those of any other European nation. Paris was regarded as a sort of Gomorrah, rotting at its core and awaiting the day of its destruction. The word "French" was enough in itself to indicate the most depraved immorality. The vice of the whole world flowed towards Paris. Russian Grand-dukes, Spanish painters, Italian poets, German composers, English millionaires, all turned their steps towards the capital of France.

This immorality, however, was in no way a standard feature of the French. This supposed French vice was just one of those attacks of realism that have so often taken possession of great nations. The Frenchman felt himself just as much a hero in emphasizing his bad qualities as his good ones. He found himself attracting attention by dwelling on his bad qualities, and so he continued to do so. The onflow of European vice to Paris did the rest. But the Frenchman himself was never such an immoral individual as he was painted. He tried to lead as sensible a life as possible without indulging in any of the incongruous excesses practised in other countries. He laughed at English hypocrisy, Spanish fanaticism, German military hierarchy, Italian sentimentalism and Russian ignorance. He looked at the world through a realistic telescope and saw it as it really was, and acted accordingly. He never made an outward show of his real character, and exaggerated his scorn for his neighbours' faults. Although he laughed and mocked at English hypocrisy and Spanish fanaticism, he was a good Christian at heart; he despised German military hierarchy, but the world has never produced a better soldier

than the French; he may have scorned Italian sentimentalism, but the Frenchman's patriotism stood the test of fire when the decisive moment arrived. The Frenchwoman's coquetry has become proverbial, nevertheless the world possesses no better or more loving mother than the Frenchwoman. The foreign Press always criticized French thinkers and French manners harshly, yet French thought and French manners dominated the world. No art movement or artist was fully approved of unless accepted by Paris, and the hallmark of Paris was valid for the rest of the world. But for all this the Frenchman and the French character remained misunderstood in the world. Autocratic Russia hated French liberty, disciplined Germany hated French freedom of action, hypocritical England hated French morals, sentimental Italy hated French cynicism, fanatic Spain hated French free-thought. France stood alone in the world in glorious isolation.

All this Delcassé understood and saw what inevitably must be the fate of Europe unless some immediate remedy were found. He set to work to reconcile France with the other nations of Europe whose interests were as seriously threatened as hers. He succeeded in bringing to Paris, and showing him the greatness of France and the seriousness of the impending danger, the Czar Nicholas II of Russia, with whom an alliance was made in 1897. Edward VII also visited the French capital at a time when public opinion in England was dead against France. At this moment France's ally, Russia, was at war with Britain's ally, Japan. On account of Russia's Eastern fleets having been entirely annihilated by the Japanese, she was obliged to resort to her Baltic squadron. During the passage of this fleet through the North Sea, near Dogger Bank, the Russian warships, under Admiral Rozhdestvenski, in error, fired on some English fishing smacks, suspecting Japanese torpedo boats to be amongst them, which might have been quite possible because, only a few days previously, two Japanese warships were coaling at Cardiff. In a flash the whole of England cried aloud for war. Our Home Fleet, under Admiral Beresford, was on the point of being called

into action. It would have been impossible to declare war on Russia without having to go to war with France also. The relations between the two countries became terribly strained. But a fine diplomatic hand was at work. After some days of rude anxiety war was definitely averted. King Edward's visit to France immediately sowed the seeds of a close friendship which was harvested by the Anglo-French Entente in 1904.

In a like manner Alfonso XIII of Spain and Victor Emmanuel III of Italy visited Paris and so caused a friendly interchange of feeling between their countries. The inhabitants of Republican Paris always gave warm demonstrations of welcome to their Royal visitors. In this manner Delcassé surrounded France with innumerable friends and crowned everything by leaving Germany in a state of isolation by the year 1905. England and Russia were gradually approaching a state of friendship and by 1910 the Triple Entente between England, France and Russia was a concrete fact, whereas the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy was only a paper scare-crow. The English people began gradually to recognize the sterling qualities that lay buried under the Frenchman's feigned frivolity.

Thus the Prussian's dream of Germanizing Austria-Hungary and the Balkans began slowly to fade. Before him stood a formidable block of nations ready to defend their own existence by defending the existence of those minute nations grouped together in a forgotten corner of Europe. Right well did Bismarck understand German politics when he said that the spark that would set Europe ablaze was to be found in the Balkan Peninsula. In the spring of 1911 the Czar of Russia held a secret interview with the King of Italy in Racconigi, and in the same year Italy declared war on Turkey.

What transpired in that interview remains a secret of international diplomacy. The King of Italy was the son-in-law of King Nicholas of Montenegro. He had married Princess Elena of Montenegro in 1896. The Czar's uncle, Grand-duke Nikolai Nikolaievich, was married to another daughter of the King of Montenegro,

Princess Stana. Another of his daughters, Zorka, was married to King Peter I of Serbia, while yet a fourth daughter of Montenegro's King, Militza, was married to another uncle of the Russian Czar, Peter Nikolaievich. The inhabitants of Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria were protégés of Russia. Germany had pushed Austria-Hungary to the occupation of Herzegovina-Bosnia, a pure Slav country. Turkey was fast becoming a vassal of Berlin. The Balkan powers were, in their then actual condition, in no way a match for Turkey. Italy, however, easily annihilated the Turkish fleet and took possession of Tripoli and Cyrenaica and occupied some of the most strategically important islands in the Ægean Sea. Turkey, with her fleet at the bottom of the sea and her army disorganized, was obliged to make peace. The tables were turned now for the Balkan powers. The Greek fleet protected the coast and the Bulgarian infantry and the Serbian artillery and cavalry made short work of the Turkish army; the Turkish ammunition had been used up against the Italians. There was no way of bringing over reinforcements from Asia Minor, and the Turk was now no match for his Balkan enemies. He succumbed beneath their pin-pricks. The Turk was no longer the decisive factor of the Balkans; he had lost prestige and his legendary glory. The German dream of a direct route from the Baltic to the Mediterranean was shattered. The German language was not to extend from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. That insignificant meeting in Racconigi which was not regarded seriously in its day turned the tide of European history. Hamburg in the north still remained one of the most important ports in the world, and it was German; but Salonika, the port of the future, became Greek.

Germany had received a terrible defeat without having been able to defend herself. She found herself mastered by a system of politics that was eminently finer and better woven than her own. The line of conduct that had been so cleverly drawn up by Bismarck was checked. The "Drang nach Osten" seemed finished once and for all.

Young nations had been born in the Balkans, avid to defend their national rights. Decrepit Turkey had been pushed into a corner. France and England had defended Italy's occupation of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica; whereas Germany and Austria had lent all their support to Turkey. Friendly interchanges had been continually taking place since the Algeciras Conference between England, France and Italy. The younger Italians began to clamour louder than ever for Trieste and Trentino. The students of Padua publicly burned the Austrian national flag in Saint Mark's Place in Venice. The Triple Alliance could hardly any more be counted upon. Germany felt that her gloriously planned future was fast slipping from her grasp. Something must be done immediately. Germany could still count fully upon Austria. The two together, without Italy, were more than a match for France and Russia. England was bound up with her ridiculous suffragette questions, and she found herself tied hand and foot with her Colonies. India and Egypt would immediately take advantage of any opportunity possible to free themselves from the Britons, the Colonies would declare themselves independent as soon as they saw the Mother Country involved in war.

No, from England there was nothing to be feared. She would certainly remain neutral. Her very existence as a nation demanded it. Besides, she had no army, and before she could gather together her few troops the War would be over. Russia was corrupt from top to bottom. France was against all military action, dominated from north to south by Hervéism. Now was the moment. Some daring move must be made to recover her lost foothold. Once France and Russia were done for, then would come Italy's and England's turns. There was a secret meeting between the Kaiser and the Crown Prince of Austria on the latter's private estate in Bohemia. Manœuvres were arranged for the Balkan frontier. But the old Emperor Franz Josef would not hear of war. He wanted to go peacefully to his grave. He still remembered the Bismarckian diplomacy of Königgrätz, and knew that Prussia had not changed since then. His whole

reign had been a long string of disasters, unrefreshed by any alleviating glory. He had been obliged to call in Russian help to suppress the Hungarian rebellion in 1848, because the Austrians alone were incapable of doing so themselves. He had been vanquished by the French and Italians at Solferino in 1859 and had had to hand over Lombardy to Italy. The Austrian birthright had been wrested from him by Prussia in 1864, and in 1866 Italy received possession of Venice. His son had committed suicide in 1889. His wife was assassinated in 1898. He had seen enough misfortune in and around his life. He wanted to await his end and die tranquilly. He knew that Hungary was eagerly looking for an opportunity to declare absolute separation from the Dual Monarchy, as it wanted to do in 1848. He did everything to avoid disputes between the different nationalities that composed his empire. The Triple Alliance avoided the Italian danger for the time being. The languages of many of the different nationalities had been given official recognition. Anything to avoid further unrest in his empire. At last, in 1907, he even granted universal suffrage.

This granting of universal suffrage had an effect entirely the opposite of what the Pan-Germans wanted. The Germans of Austria had done all they could to prevent other languages than theirs extending in the empire. They opposed the foundation of the National Czech University at Prague, with lectures in the Czech language. Now, with universal suffrage, nationalism in Austria spread with the rapidity of fire. The Italians of Austria strove more than ever towards their "Irredenta," the Moravians and Bohemians began to think really of Independence. The German language was on the down-road in Prague and Brünn. The South Slavs yearned more than ever for union with their independent brothers, and the result of the Balkan war only heated their passions. Austria-Hungary was broiling with individual nationalisms. Only respect for the old tottering Emperor kept these passions from kindling rebellious outbreaks. German influence was losing ground on all sides. The great dream of a

German Central Europe was rapidly disappearing. But still the old Emperor obstinately opposed all suggestion of war.

Without warning, in an unsuspected moment, Fate stretched forth her hand. The Crown Prince of Austria, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was murdered at Sarajevo. The event was used to force the Emperor's hand to sign the declaration of war. In spite of the fact that Serbia acceded to nearly all the demands of one of the most dastardly and brutal ultimatums that has even been known in history, war was declared on the 28th July, 1914. The War was not meant in any way to avenge the death of the Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary, but to regain the lost German influence, or better said, the lost influence of the German language in Austria. Once Serbia was definitely reduced to impotence, the Germanizing of the South Slavs of Austria could begin again, and gradually all the lost prestige of the German language would be restored throughout the monarchy.

The ultimatum itself was absolutely indefensible. The murderer, Princip, was not a Serbian but an Austro-Hungarian subject. The Crown Prince was not murdered in Serbia but in Austria-Hungary. And the assassination of a Crown Prince is in no way a justification for war. If such were the case, against what country was war justified seeing that Princip was an Austro-Hungarian subject? And if the assassination of a Royal head or a presumptive Royal head is a justification for war, then why was war not declared on Switzerland for the assassination of the Emperor of Austria's wife at Geneva in 1898, because Elizabeth was, after all's said and done, the wife of the Emperor, Empress of Austria, whereas the Archduke Francis Ferdinand was only his nephew, and there was little probability of his ever ascending the Austro-Hungarian throne as Emperor. Not only was he unlikely to rule over the dual States, on account of the certainty of the breaking-up of the Empire at Franz Josef's death, but he had also contracted a morganatic marriage in 1900 with the Countess Sophia Chotek and formally renounced all rights of his children

to the Austro-Hungarian throne. So that his direct dynasty was of no interest to Austria nor to Austrian politics, because his family was debarred from all legitimate rights to reign in Austria-Hungary. But not so with the Empress Elizabeth. She was the Emperor's own wife, and if an ultimatum was not necessary to avenge the assassination of the Empress Elizabeth, why then should it have been issued for Archduke Francis Ferdinand?

But any excuse, no matter how trivial, was what the German High Command required to start a war. If it had not been the assassination of the Crown Prince and Princess of Austria-Hungary it would have been some other excuse. That the German High Command was only waiting for the right moment is amply borne out by Mr. J. W. Gerard, who was then the Ambassador of the United States to Berlin :

" I knew in 1914 that nothing could keep the peace in Europe for long. It was the tragic and terrific end of a strange and troubled era. The War fell like a bombshell on Berlin, where I was Ambassador. All the diplomats believed that everything would be adjusted, but they reckoned without the German General Staff—to whom the crisis was 'Der Tag.' The Serajevo assassinations were an excellent pretext, but had this failed some other excuse would have been found. I have never faltered in my conviction that the German High Command was determined upon war."¹

And not only was the assassin Princip an Austrian subject, but he was even tried for the murder he committed in Austria, as an Austrian subject. While millions of his countrymen were passing through all the possible hardships of life, and hundreds of thousands were being massacred wholesale on the different fields of battle to atone for his act of folly, he lived on in an Austrian prison until his death in 1918. Well may he look down upon the gigantic effects of that unconsidered act of his. Poland

¹ Interview given to the Press in London on 3rd August, 1935.

has become a free and reconstituted land, clothing herself in the mantle of her past glories. And with the Poles, the Czechs and South Slavs have become masters over their own rights, laws, lands and languages. They are no more subject to a foreign domination but in free enjoyment of their own independence. The route from Hamburg to Salonika is definitely blocked, the Germanizing of East Europe is a lost cause, the German language from henceforth must be limited to the German peoples and the great dream of a mighty Central European Empire remains in the land of dreams. And those heterogeneous empires, maintained only by oppression and sinister repression of individual instincts, called Austria-Hungary and Turkey have vanished with it. Those empires, the preserve of a tyrannical few, existing through centuries by the indolent sanction of a Europe too jealous of its own concerns to interfere, have been, at last, dissolved into their component parts by an act of Providence whose instrument was the student Princip.

Russia

BUT Princip was only the unconscious tool of circumstances. Princip was not a pioneer world-reformer. He was just a boy, under twenty years of age. He was even too young to be sentenced to death for his rashness. The two great pioneers of world-reform were men of quite other material and making. Princip just did what he felt himself prompted to do, without knowing what he really did, or how he did it. But these other two men, Lenin and Wilson, went forward with leaden feet to establish a code of humanity, with the cool judgment of men called upon to fulfil a duty for which they felt themselves specially adapted. Both wanted an ideal world as a human dwelling, but Wilson wanted to reform the world as he found it, while Lenin wanted to pull down the existing world as it is and establish *his* world on its ruins. Both men judged the world according to their own ambient soil. Wilson, a professor of Jurisprudence and National Economy, son of a poor and strict Presbyterian minister, wanted to respect existing rights and prepare the world for an era of peace by obliging the nations of the world to renounce what was not lawfully theirs in favour of the rightful owners. He judged the world by the Anglo-Saxons, whose language alone he knew. He thought that all people possessed the same political cleverness as the Anglo-Saxon and respected their neighbours' liberties and rights. He thought that the spirit of self-sacrifice, charity and pride in honesty animated the rest of the world as it did America and Britain. He knew little of the horrors of the race questions, fraught with suffering for minorities, that existed in Hungary, the mercilessness of the Czarist Government in Russia, the unjustifiable existence of a dominating

caste of officials and officers in Germany and the political influence, dishonesty and unfairness of the cacique in Spain. Wilson thought he could induce the world by arguments to reform itself. But Wilson's political reformation only concerned the treatment of nations between nations. He in no way aimed to rectify the foul political conditions that existed *within* nations. Wilson thought that it was possible to put an end to war by smoothing off the rough edges of international diplomacy. He sent his experts all over Europe to ascertain what were the great points of contact and points of divergence in Europe, what were the difficulties in the way of an international understanding and how these difficulties could be surmounted. Right from the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, Wilson kept in touch with his trusted friends in Europe until, on the 8th January, 1918, he enunciated his famous Fourteen Points to the Joint Session of Congress :

1. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the

equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, and more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

8. All French territory should be freed, and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interests of all.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be

evacuated, occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

A few weeks later, these Fourteen Points were supplemented by Four Principles :

1. That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent ;

2. That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they are chattels or pawns in a game, even the great game, now for ever discredited, of the balance of power ; but that

3. Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interests and for the benefit of

the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival States ; and

4. That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

If only these Fourteen Points and Four Principles had been adhered to, this world to-day would be a very different place to live in. Those Fourteen Points and Four Principles formed a basis of universal peace. Wilson was the only man amongst all that crowd of so-called statesmen who had a clear vision of what was really vitally necessary for the world. Since then there has been no plan and no system. Everybody has been on the grab. We are going back to a state of things far worse than existed in pre-War Europe. Before the War there was a reasonable amount of civic liberty. Almost all the countries of Europe had their elected parliaments. The Press was not gagged as it is to-day in half of Europe. We could move about the world without worrying about passports or other restrictions. Now dictators are the order of the day. The Press of half Europe has to say what it is told to say or allowed to say and nothing more. Russia, as far as civic liberty was concerned, was the stigma of Europe. To-day almost every country has been turned into a pre-War Russia, where people are afraid to open their mouths or express their opinions for fear of being thrown into prison.

Paragraph six, of the Fourteen Points, makes it quite clear what Wilson's idea, as far back as 1918, of our duty towards the new Russian State was. Our European statesmen thought otherwise. They not only supplied money and arms for counter-revolutionary movements, but they actually sent officers and men to assist in the attempt to smash the new social system in Russia. After years of warfare, solely to stop Russia from

introducing into her own country the system which her own citizens considered necessary, the whole world has been forced to the conclusion that, after all, the system is not entirely wrong. So much so, that a great nation like France is only too pleased to enter into an alliance with the nation that her government so ruthlessly combated. Our own Conservative Ministers of the Crown make speeches in which they openly recommend an alliance with Russia. This Russia that the Conservative post-War Government fought so implacably and insulted so openly. Even America, last year, agreed to recognize the Soviet Government and, after a breach of over fifteen years, has opened up diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Wilson must have seen years ahead. He was head and shoulders above any statesman of his day. He might have been an idealist, but he was a statesman. The whole world has ridiculed him, and his own country most of all, but time will show what Wilson's Fourteen Points and Four Principles would have meant to the tired, worn-out, post-War world.

Lenin—the name is just a pseudonym, his real name being Vladimir Ilitch Ulianoff—was in no way the black villain he was generally painted as being by his foreign contemporaries. Lenin was an idealist—a scientific idealist if you like—but, unlike the majority of idealists, he suffered for his idealism. His idealism was not of the opportunist type, born of troublous times and fished up in turbid waters. He was an idealist right from the most prosperous days of his family, when his father was a higher State official under the Czar. His father was no mean upstart, but belonged to the class of Russian nobility. Unlike the majority of reformers of his day no flattering promises and offers of preferment could turn Lenin aside from the path planned for himself by himself. His life as son and husband was of the most exemplary kind. He was temperate in everything. His life was just one long bending of himself to his will, of forcing himself to obey the dictates of his inner conscience. He, right from his youngest days, clearly saw

the injustice of the social system of which his own father was a prominent executive. The purity of his life was just as distinguishing a feature of his student days as it was later on as a husband. Ulianoff loved his books and his studies and there was no student more zealous of university honours, honourably gained, in all the Kazan University. Nevertheless he threw all to the winds when a political question arose and stubbornly put himself on the side of justice and opposed the suppression of academic liberty. He was expelled from the university and banished. But Ulianoff was no extraordinary exception to the general run of Russian students at that time. The political injustices committed in Russian universities were only to be compared with some of the Russian peasantry laws.

After his banishment was over he returned to St. Petersburg, entering the Imperial University and studying law and economics. Here again he soon came to the forefront as a student of uncommon talent and energy. But a sharp eye was watching him. His every movement was closely followed. In 1895 he was exiled to Siberia, but returned three years afterwards again to follow his ideals and strive for the rectification of some of those laws that will always prevent Czarist Russia from being considered as forming part of modern European society, civilization and culture.

Ulianoff judged the world by Russia. He never could think of the proletariat of any other country as being in any way different from that of Russia. This marks the difference between him and Tolstoi. Tolstoi always strove for the betterment of the Russian labouring classes, to give them a status equal to that of the workers in the rest of Europe. But Ulianoff not so. He never stopped to think of the condition of the labouring classes in the other more advanced countries, but contrasted the state of the Russian masses with that of the dominating classes. He saw the bread sweated out of the unlucky proletariat and squandered by the upper ten thousand. He saw the lazy, vicious, immoral Russian overlords leading lives of unhealthy luxury while the working

classes were made to sweat blood to gain a few miserable kopeks. He saw that the laws of the land were made for the privileged few; the rest could be trampled on and oppressed with impunity. He saw the knout laid mercilessly on the bare backs of those who dared to utter the slightest of protests against the inequalities of the existing conditions. He saw the very officers who ordered the punishment dishonestly squandering the public funds at the card tables or in the boudoirs of their harlots.

In the Czarist Empire it was almost impossible to be moral or even honest. The few who lived honestly were regarded as mad, to live morally was to invite contempt. The Russian worker's life was a living nightmare. No wonder was it then that the only moments of enjoyment he could find were when he was dead drunk from the effects of his vodka. In those moments he was oblivious of everything and his only desire was to get drunk as often as possible and forget the criminality of the laws that governed him.

Ulianoff saw all this. He saw also that no rectification of it was possible until the Russian Government was in the hands of the proletariat, and no other class. He knew that by centuries of inculcation the middle class were just as unfitted to put matters straight as the Imperialists. Unless the proletariat possessed all power they would have no power. The whole social structure would have to be overthrown and a new civilization formed on its ruins. Laws must be made to treat the proletariat as human beings and not as animals. Laws must be made to oblige the idle classes to work and contribute to the welfare of Russia. The poorest must be properly housed and cared for, and it was in the interest of the State to see that this was done efficiently. The taxes should not fall only and absolutely on the striving classes, but should be paid in relation to the standing and utility of the individual and his work to society in general. That all individuals should be obliged to contribute according to their ability and capacity to the welfare and existence of the State, and the State to the existence of Society.

But Ulianoff conceived the world as he knew his Russia. He considered the proletariat of the whole world to be as ruthlessly exploited as was the case in his own country, and, with certain exceptions, in a greater or lesser degree, the case in the rest of Europe. But he did not know Anglo-Saxon lands. He did not understand what a "self-made man" really looked like.

This change of mentality was brought about on account of our language being the same as theirs. Our country remained untainted and uncontaminated by the Continent because our sentimental interest was concentrated in those countries that spoke our language. The Englishman's insularity has become proverbial, but still more proverbial is the Englishman's horror at learning a foreign language. The Englishman only knew, and cared to know, about what was happening in English-speaking countries. The rest of the world held nothing that could awaken his curiosity. For the Englishman the world was split up into three groups: British, Americans, and foreigners. Everybody who did not speak English was a foreigner, nothing more and nothing less. That was what his ignorance of foreign languages did for him: it separated him from the rest of the world. Many a wealthy English merchant had visited Cairo, Calcutta, the States, Canada and the Cape, but he had never taken the trouble to go as far as Berlin or Amsterdam. Everything that spoke a foreign language had something so inexplicably unattractive for him that he simply fled away from it. It was all the same to him whether the foreigner spoke German, Spanish, French, Italian or Russian, it was foreign, and between one class of foreigner and another class of foreigner there was absolutely no difference for him. And really there was but little difference.

If it were not for the difference of language, everyday existence on the Continent in one country or another came to very much the same thing. It was when one crossed to England that one saw any real and appreciable difference. In all the European countries the laws and customs were nearly the same. In some countries the inhabitants worked more than in others. In some

the habit of spitting was more frequently practised than in others, but apart from such small details as these there was hardly any appreciable difference. There existed the same official control over everything, the same military-service obligations, the same taxes, the same criminal, penal and civil codes with variations, the same custom-house officers, the same control of the Press, the same settling of one's quarrels by means of duels, the same café life, the same houses of prostitution, the same caste distinctions, the same lack of fair-play for fair-play's sake—everything was the same from one end of the Continent to the other with trifling differentiations according to the industriousness or wealth of the different nations, but in spirit the same.

But once the Channel was crossed then one began to see the difference. French ideas had gained ground in Germany and German ideas in France. Russians copied Italian art and Italians Russian literature. Europe, as a whole, formed as much one nation, from a spiritual point of view, as Austria-Hungary formed an Empire. But the Englishman kept himself apart from all these influences. He loved what was English and abhorred everything that was foreign. He only conversed with those who spoke his language and let the rest go to the devil. But many of those who spoke his language were his antithesis in character. Since about 1850 the Colonies—now the Dominions—were being rapidly peopled by those who had left their hearths and homes to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, dissatisfied with conditions existing at home. Those that went to Australia, Canada and South Africa were the working hands of England who were anxious to earn a better living in newer lands. The old aristocrat and the landed gentleman remained at home, while their coachmen and farm-hands sought their fortunes in other climes. These new countries were peopled by those who had paved their own route in life; men who had broken stones themselves to smooth their way. These new countries, rich and lacking in population, made laws to attract immigrants to their shores, at the same time taking steps to protect the

standard of living of those who had already settled. With these liberal laws, men who sprung from the working classes became wealthy; they took over the reins of government and ruled according to their own ideas. This had its repercussion in England. The labouring classes of England began to see the advantages of emigration and the greater possibilities overseas than in their own country, and were not slow in seeking pastures new, where class domination, as such, was unknown, where every man was as good as his master without stupid barriers of hereditary right. The best marrow of Great Britain began to flow to the newer countries. There were no obstacles in their way; they would find the same language and few unfamiliar customs.

The self-made men of the new countries returned to visit their birth-places and spoke of the differences between their native and adopted countries. Labour questions became acute in England. The English aristocrat generally loves fair play right from his schooldays; in fact, he likes the game for the game's sake and not just for the sake of winning it. There is something quite peculiar about the Briton and his love for the game. It is to be found nowhere else on the face of the globe. The link that seems to bind all Britons together on Derby Day, or during a Test match, or the Cup-tie, exists in no other country. It is something so purely our own. On such days all Britons are one. The aristocratic and privileged element gave way with good grace and recognized the justice of the labouring classes' demands. The old Conservative governments were pulled down and Liberal governments elected. New laws were made in defence of the working classes, who strove to defend their rights without trespassing on the rights of others. The British nation, as a whole, loves fair play and seconded the demands of the working-man and the recognition of his rights, so that in the year 1919 the British worker saw himself on the way to achieving greater political responsibility by constitutional means than ever the Bolsheviks hoped to achieve by other than revolutionary methods and bloodshed.

But has Lenin's work been so really bad for the world in general and Russia in particular? Is Russia any worse off to-day than it was in Czarist days?

Before answering these questions one must pay careful attention to the circumstances that existed when Lenin began his great task. Russia had no really capable statesmen to be entrusted with the forming of a democratic government. The Czarist Government was overthrown, but the whole power of Russia was still in the hands of the Czarist generals. All the high officials and grand-dukes retained their positions as in the days of Czarist domination. The new constitution would have been as easily overthrown in favour of the old regime as the Constitution of 1905, judging from the tame way in which Kerensky resigned his powers at the critical moment and his weak behaviour right through his period of office. The only man in all Russia who had devised a clear-cut plan of reform, a detailed political campaign, was Lenin. Whatever may be said against Lenin, and there is much to be said against him, he has done more for Russia than all of his half-witted political contemporaries together were capable of doing. Russia will never more see a return to that dastardly, repugnant form of government that guided her destinies before the War. And anyone who has but the merest idea of what Russia was before the War must surely blush at the thought that if we had been victorious while Russia was still our ally, we should have been in a great part responsible for restoring that abnormal misgovernment under which an ill-fated people had groaned for so long, a kind of feudalism far worse than the feudalism of mediæval times. Because in the very darkest epoch of the Dark Ages there was nothing so vile as to be comparable with the practices of that unspeakable monk Rasputin. This reptile had more power in the Imperial household than the most enlightened of the Czar's ministers, professors, or doctors. No political action could be undertaken, no act of grace signed, no invention recognized, no book be published, no idea pronounced when once this monk had put his veto on it. When the

Czar's family were ill, instead of calling in a recognized doctor, this monk was consulted. The whole of the Imperial household was so enchained that nothing whatever could be undertaken without previously consulting this filthy viper. He held the utmost power in the Empire. The Imperial Court was so absolutely superstitious that it actually believed in this man's religious power. His slightest gesture of dissatisfaction or of ill-humour made the whole of the Russian Court shake with fear. Yet he was nothing more than a dirty, ill-behaved son of an ignorant mujik,¹ whose clothes left an indecent odour wherever he went, whose finger-nails were always rimmed with black, and who was continually picking his nose and ears; nevertheless he held unlimited sway in Russia. When the Czarevich was very ill instead of calling in an expert doctor, the Czarina went to Rasputin and asked him to save her son by enchantment. All the secrets of State passed through this evil person's hands, all the most vital questions of inner politics could be changed by a simple gesture of this monk. To crown all he used to hold what he termed his "test of the flesh," which consisted in bathing with the daughters and wives of the highest aristocracy of Russia, stark naked in the same bath. And such was the power of this monk, that the fathers, sons and husbands of these people were stupidly fanatic enough to tolerate this filthiness.

But this was only one monk of thousands that roamed throughout Russia with their immoralities. The whole of the country was plagued with a horde of these drunken beasts. They lived on the people like locusts. They spread throughout Russia and possessed unlimited power. The poor Russian mujiks gave them whatever they demanded, because they feared them.

But these poor Russian peasants did not have only the monks to fear. They had to fear the Russian State functionaries also. The immorality, craftiness, corruptibility and dishonesty of these people pass all bounds of description. The rates and taxes of a whole village were often spent by one of these functionaries in drunken

¹ Peasant-worker.

orgies, on one of his mistresses, or anything except its rightful purposes.

This then was the condition of Russia in 1917, when the Allies were preparing a combined offensive against Germany. If the Allies, with Russia, had been victorious and crushed the Central Powers in that year, it would have meant a complete return for Russia to those terrible conditions which had become a by-word. The rising power of the Duma would have been crushed for ever, because the prestige of the Army, impaired by its defeat by the Japanese, would have been entirely restored and autocratic power reinvested in the person of the Czar.

Lenin took advantage of Kerensky's indecisive character and overthrew the whole chess-board. He fought against the world. He showed himself a man of energy and character. He showed himself a brutal man, but a decided one. Ministers and cabinets were constantly changing in all the belligerent powers, but he continued at the helm of the ship of State to the end. Lenin was the most scrupulous ruler ; he governed carefully ; his government was just and upright, and in an incredibly short space of time, in spite of the utmost difficulties, with his country invaded on every side by the British, the Americans, the Poles, the Czechoslovakians, the Japanese, the French, the Germans and so many other nationalities, he kept them all at bay and still governed his country justly and wisely. From the moment he took over the reins of government, Russia became settled and peaceful, although the Press of the whole world, the British amongst the worst of them, published the most disgraceful lies about events and happenings in the new Russia who was fighting for her very existence. Fighting against Czarist generals, against British generals, against French officers, against Turkish officers, against the whole world at once. Against Admiral Koltchak, against General Denikin, against Yudenich, against Wrangel, against General Ironsides, in the north of Russia, in South Russia, in Eastern and Western Russia, he still went on with his reforms. At one moment the anti-revolutionary armies were within ten miles of Petrograd, at another time they

occupied practically the whole of Siberia, but the constructive work of the Revolution still went forward with a steady hand and an iron nerve to guide it.

Most of the false reports about Russia came from German and Polish sources. No newspapers, except one, the *Chicago Daily News*, seemed to have had any means of ascertaining what was really happening in Russia. They all published the most fantastic reports about robberies, chaos, anarchy, corpses lying about the streets, excesses of the Red Soldiers, the public-ownership of women, strangulation of priests and the burning of churches. Of all the Press of the world only this one paper appears to have published any semblance of the true state of things. This paper had its own correspondent in Russia. Scared by the reports published even in the most self-respecting newspapers, people were afraid to go to Russia. Outside Russia, in the whole world, this handful of reformers had not a single friend or helper, nothing but enemies on all sides, from without and within, with armies officially equipped and financed by the Allied Powers. For no other reason except that that greatest of all reformers, Lenin, was convinced that there was no half-way measures between the Russia of the Czars and the Communist State. And undeterred by enemies of all sorts and descriptions, he continued his work which would have been rendered much easier and would have caused much less suffering if only the truth about Moscow could have been published. Moscow was not only well governed, but as safe for its inhabitants as any city in Europe. Life was as normal as circumstances would allow it to be. There was freedom and liberty for everybody and danger for nobody, as long as they obeyed the laws of the State they were in.

The proof of this is in the following communication sent by the Moscow Correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News* to his newspaper on the 19th May, 1919:

“ There is no anarchy either in Petrograd or Moscow and there is no chaos in Soviet Russia. Since its inauguration the Soviet Government has not been

more powerful than it is to-day. Never in the history of modern Russia has any government had more real authority than the present Soviet system. When one penetrates Soviet Russia one is struck by the fact that whatever Bolshevism may be it is not anarchy.

After having passed some time within the frontiers of the Communist republic one is surprised at the situation American people imagine it to be.

SAFER THAN IN CHICAGO

There is no disorder ; there is even too much order. Imagine what would happen in Chicago at night if the streets were unlighted and imagine further what would happen if the police disappeared from the city. There are no policemen in Moscow and because of the coal crisis the streets are unlighted ; yet one can traverse the streets after midnight in perfect safety.

Before coming to Russia I was informed that the Soviet Government was tottering and would soon fall. The newspapers here publish the wireless despatches sent from Paris to America. These relating to Soviet Russia are absolutely contrary to the facts and even people most violently opposed to Bolshevism cannot find anything here to support such assertions. On the contrary numerous signs show that the Soviet Government has grown considerably in the last few months. Since Admiral Kolchak's recent successes the masses have arisen to uphold the Soviet Government. The Allies' blockade of the Baltic has embittered all classes and augmented the Government's support.

FEAR DISMEMBERMENT BY ALLIES

The Allies' peace terms to Germany are considered here by everyone as outrageous. The Franco-British aim is said to be to dismember Russia and reduce her to slavery. The result of all this has been to make 100,000,000 Russians firmly resolved to fight for the defence of their country and government. In Soviet Russia every man capable of fighting, without regard to political creed, is ready to die rather than surrender.

The Government mobilization is proceeding throughout the country with less disorder than attended the draft in the United States. There was a time when the Soviet Government was dominated by the minority which had seized the reins of power, but that time has passed. The observer can here quickly see that a formidable majority of the nation favours the Soviet Government.

Whether or not this is agreeable to the rest of the world the American people can nevertheless well understand. The dictatorship of the proletariat means neither anarchy, chaos nor continual public disorder, but the greatest possible order. The concentration by the Government of forces is powerful and unprecedented in a civilized country.

NO BLOODSHED OR CRIME

There is no terror or bloodshed in the streets of Petrograd or Moscow and neither is there theft nor drunkenness. The operas and theatres are crowded. Despite exorbitant prices the people are well shod and well dressed. The saloons are closed and also the brilliant department stores. The luxurious hotels have been transformed into lodgings for working people and representatives of the Soviets.

The food question in Petrograd and Moscow is very serious. Will America now extend a helping hand to the famished population and send food and merchandise to Russia? This question is on everybody's lips. The people want peace. The Government has also declared that it wants peace with the world and is ready to make concessions to the Allies. The people desire only to let the rest of the world alone provided they are let alone. They are fighting for peace in Russia and not for social revolution in Western Europe."

Lenin went on in his own determined manner. Hardly a Continental newspaper outside Russia dared speak in his favour, lest it should be immediately closed down

by the authorities. Even in the neutral countries all Communist reformers were persecuted and driven out of their countries or imprisoned. Yet he did more for the labouring masses of the world than any other individual who has yet existed. He not only preached reforms, but went to work to put those reforms into practice. No bribe could corrupt him, no offer seduce him. The majority of the reforms granted to the rest of the world at the time were, in a great part, due to him; because the governments of the other nations became so alarmed at the proportions of the revolutionary movements among the masses of their own countries that they immediately granted reforms they otherwise would never have dreamt of granting.

Nevertheless, Lenin, as a politician, was a tyrant. As much a tyrant as the Czar or the Kaiser or any other autocrat before his time. Just as the Czar sacrificed everything unmercifully to maintain his autocracy, Lenin sacrificed everything to maintain his. Everybody who opposed the introduction of the proletariat government was pitilessly shot down or rigorously imprisoned. He gave no opportunity to the capitalists of atoning for the abuses of the old regime, but treated the *bourgeoisie* in the same way, or worse, as they had treated the proletariat. He gave them no quarter. The proletarian government of Lenin did not recognize equal rights for all alike, but recognized only the rights of their own class. It was an ochlocracy in the fullest sense of the word.

We have to thank Lenin ultimately for the destruction, not only of the autocratic government of the Czar, but also for the final demolition of the rest of the autocratic Imperial governments of Europe, chief among which were Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey. Because exactly what he announced after the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, that the Bolsheviks would pull down the German Government also, really happened. On account of the contact between the German and Russian soldiers, the former became saturated with Bolshevik principles, and on their return to Germany imbued everybody with whom they came in touch with the same ideas.

Bolshevism spread through Germany with the rapidity of lightning. That proud army which had shouted victory after a hundred battles could no longer be counted upon. The ammunition factories were seething with sedition. This was still further aggravated by the fact that the food supplies, promised after the victory over Russia, never arrived, on account of the Russian peasants refusing to part with their produce. The whole of Germany spoke openly of revolution. Never was the power of the Kaiser so doubted as in the period between the occupation of Russia and the month of March which followed. Germany saw that there was no possible holding out, and she determined to risk everything on a last throw.

This last throw began on the 21st of March, 1918, with good prospects of victory, but the *moral* of Germany was broken. The old war-like spirit of 1914 was gone. The Allies had got the upper hand in men, ammunition and discipline, and the end came with the Armistice in November.

But has Russia really done so badly by going over to Communism? It is now eighteen years since the dethronement of the Czar. In those eighteen years Russia has changed from a backward, priest-ridden peasant country, in the worst sense of the word, to one of the foremost industrial nations in the world. Here the working-classes, from being the most downtrodden in modern history, have hopes of becoming the most emancipated. To-day, wherever you go in Russia, there is hope. Everywhere else in Europe, you can only find the spirit of despair. The people are not well off, they are even badly off, but they have a future to look forward to. The rest of the Continental nations seem to be sliding from bad to worse. Their future seems as black as, and blacker than, ever it seemed before. New cities spring up overnight in Russia. What was fifteen years ago a village of a couple of thousand inhabitants, to-day is a town with a population of three hundred thousand (Novosibirsk). And this is no exceptional case. One of the most marvellous of achievements has been the fact that within

the last fifteen years Russia has built up sixty new towns—one, Magnitogorsk, with as many as 250,000 inhabitants—where nothing existed before except barren land. They planned out the towns with their houses, streets, shops, schools and everything, and they then built the towns: sixty of them.¹ Advance on every hand is the policy of the Russia of to-day. The Russian slogan is not "Russia, Rule the Waves" or "Russland Ueber Alles," but "Communism Means Building." And this is true. Everywhere everybody is building everything. The factory that before the War employed two thousand hands, to-day employs twenty thousand, and it could employ forty thousand if it could find the hands. Everywhere there seems to be a shortage of labour. Everywhere else in the world unemployment is rife. Russia is short of about ten million hands. That is the difference between what Czarism spelt and what Bolshevism means, as far as Russia is concerned. Before the War, only 17 per cent of the people could read or write. In 1926 still only 26 per cent could read or write. Progress was retarded on account of the counter-revolutionary movements that the Bolshevik Government were forced to face. In 1932 there were only 10 per cent who could not read or write. To-day, after seventeen years of Bolshevik rule, between 7 per cent and 8 per cent only cannot read or write. Even elderly people have been caught up in the advance of progress in Russia and learned to read and write. The daily circulation of newspapers in Russia before the War was about three millions, to-day it is over thirty-seven millions daily. In 1913 there were about 34,600 new books published, with an output of about one hundred and thirty-three millions. In 1933 there were about 55,000 new books published with an output of about nine hundred millions. In Czarist Russia there were 15,000 libraries, with nine million volumes. In 1932 there were 390,000 libraries, with one hundred and twenty-four million volumes. Before the War—1913—books were printed in twenty-nine languages. In 1934

¹ The British have built one town—Canberra in Australia—as Federal capital.

books were printed in one hundred and four different languages in Russia.

The advance that Bolshevism has brought about in Russia seems unbelievable. Anybody who had lived there before the War and has revisited the country within the last twelve months must be astounded. It is quite true that the fashionable quarters are no longer fashionable: they are inhabited by workpeople. It is also true that foreigners who visit Moscow to-day stand aghast at the way the tramcars get packed: if they came to London and tried to get into the Underground during the rush hours they would find the conditions are infinitely worse. At least, in Moscow everybody is polite in shoving you about, *which is not always the case on the London tubes*.¹

But it is not a bit of use to compare conditions in the Russia of to-day with Britain or America. Money values and general conditions are entirely different: there is no comparison. There is no difficulty in earning money in Russia, but the Russian money has not much value outside Russia. The ideal of progress in Russia is not necessarily a money-progress as much as a welfare-progress. The Russian worker of to-day receives benefits that are undreamt of elsewhere *as his right*. The educational system is altogether different from our own. In Russia education is not looked upon as a privilege, but as a vital necessity and obligation. The finest hospitals and medical attendance are free. One result of this has been that venereal diseases have dropped to a quarter of pre-War figures. The Soviet Government have proved that prostitution is purely an economic question and not a personal one. It is economic because while some people have money to throw away there must be temptation, and while some women have to starve prostitution is the lesser of the two evils, as far as they are concerned. In Moscow, before the War, with a population of one and a half million, there were 20,000 registered prostitutes. To-day in Moscow, with a population of nearly four

¹ This year, 1935, Moscow opened up its underground railway, so that even the overcrowding of the tramways in the capital of Russia has now become a thing of the past. Progress everywhere.

millions, there are only about four hundred women known to be prostitutes. Of 1200 reclaimed prostitutes, 43 per cent became expert workers and 5 per cent even were able to enter the Communist Party, a remarkable success, because only the best citizens are allowed to enter the Communist Party. This achievement is even greater when you consider that reclamation is purely voluntary and not forced in any way upon the prostitutes. The prostitutes can break off their training at any time if they want to, but they do not. The treatment of the prostitute in Russia furnishes an example and a moral for the rest of the world. Not only the prostitute but the criminal in Russia becomes a redeemed citizen. If a man has been sent to prison for any felony he is not only paid for his work in prison, but once he has served his term of imprisonment it is a penal offence to treat him in any way as a criminal, or even to mention that he has been a convict. He has offended the laws of the State, he has paid for his offence and he is deemed capable of becoming as good a citizen as anyone else in his country. In England, we say, and we believe, "Once a criminal, always a criminal." In Russia they say, "The criminal is a product of his surroundings." "It is not the individual who has to be cured but the *conditions* that produce the criminal and the prostitute."

The working man in England or America *who has a job* yet emigrated to Russia would be infinitely worse off. There is not a moment's doubt about that. But it is no use comparing the present conditions of a working man in England with those of a working man in Russia, if you want to understand the progress Russia has made. You have to compare the conditions of the working-man in Russia of to-day with the conditions of the working-man in *the Russia of the Czarist days*. Then you can see the difference. In the Czarist days there were only two thousand schools in all Russia *under government control*. To-day there are over a hundred thousand. Before the War about eight million pupils went to school. To-day over twenty-six millions go to school. Before the War there were only ninety-one colleges and univer-

sities with a total of one hundred and twenty-five thousand students. To-day there are six hundred colleges and universities with a total of well over a million students. At the universities 75 per cent of the students come from workers' families and only 25 per cent from professional or functionaries' families. The chief of the scientific Faculty at Moscow is only twenty-eight years old.¹ The Vice-President of Moscow University is only thirty-two years old. Both of them are the sons of peasant-workers.²

In pre-War Russia there were no kindergartens or crèches supported by the State, to-day kindergartens are an integral part of the Soviet system of education. Their numbers go into thousands. In no country in the world is such care given to the infant as in Russia to-day. Infant mortality was as high as 50 per cent in some parts of Russia, in Czarist days, among children of under a year old. It sounds fantastic, but it is true. To-day the number is infinitesimal. This, the Soviet authorities aver, is due to education and nothing else. The people are educated up to the standards of hygiene and are only too willing to learn.

In Moscow, 100 per cent of the births in 1933 took place in maternity homes. Every expectant mother in Moscow regularly attended a pre-natal clinic or, where necessary, was attended by a nurse and doctor at home. The result is that the maternal death-rate is only about 0.1 per cent. *In Great Britain it is nearly 0.5 per cent.* The after-birth death-rate from septic poisoning is only 0.04 per cent. *In Great Britain it is 0.2 per cent.* Before the War only 4 per cent of the confinements in the villages took place in maternity homes. To-day it is over 30 per cent. The annual excess of births over deaths was twenty-four per thousand in European Russia in 1930.³ *In the United Kingdom it was only five per thousand.* In 1913 there were no consumptive homes; in 1933 there were fourteen in the province of Moscow alone. Everything is done on a simply fantastic scale.

¹ At the time of my visit : 1933.

² Agricultural labourers.

³ The latest statistics that we have for the increase of population is 1930.

Before the War Russia only appropriated about 3·5 per cent in her budget for education. To-day there is a direct grant of 6 per cent in the Budget for education, without counting the sums spent by the different republics, by the provincial and municipal authorities, by the heavy industries, and by the factories, which all have their own particular styles of schools. That actually means that Russia really spends about double the money on education that she spends on armaments. *The British Budget of 1935 spends double the money on armaments that it does on education.*

The total Russian Budget expenditure for 1935 is sixty-five thousand million roubles, of which 10 per cent is spent on armaments. Before the War, in Czarist days, Russia spent 24 per cent, but with the difference that to-day Russia has a well-armed, well-clothed and well-fed army, with the finest air force in the world and forty thousand trained pilots. The money, before the War, was squandered uselessly, a large proportion of which never went into armaments at all but into the pockets of higher officials and staff officers. Within the last five years alone she has brought the peace strength of the army from 800,000 up to 1,500,000 men. She has increased her field artillery from 2400 to 4500 pieces and her tanks and armoured cars from 350 to 3500. Her military air force has jumped from 1700 aeroplanes in 1932 to 4300 in 1934, and estimates to reach a figure of 8000 in 1937.¹ In 1918, when the Soviets celebrated their first anniversary, there was only one small aeroplane in the parade. To-day Russia has one of the finest air services in the world, covering 73,000 kilometres of line and carrying nearly 100,000 passengers in a year, and what is more she is building practically all her own aeroplanes. Not only are her aeroplanes acknowledged to be the finest in the world, but her aeroplane engineers are in a class on their own.²

¹ Article appeared in London *Evening Standard*, 27th August, 1935.

² The Home Defence Commands of the Royal Air Force will be brought up to a first line strength of some 1500 to 1600 machines by March 31st, 1937.

Something should be mentioned here about the question of religion within the States of the Soviet on account of the so oft heard reports that the Russian Government actually persecutes religion. This is in no way a true fact. In the first place, the Soviet law guarantees "the right and opportunity to lease, erect, or maintain in convenient situations" churches, houses, or other buildings appropriate for religious purposes and the right to "*conduct without annoyance or molestation of any kind* religious services and rites of a ceremonial nature." Furthermore, even to-day, after all that Russia has been through, 20 per cent of the children born in Moscow are christened in church; 20 per cent of the children who die are buried by the Church. There are over 600,000 theists in Moscow alone. I myself visited several churches and never on any occasion did I see the slightest attempt to interfere with the religious service. The people kissed their Icons the same as in former times and treated their priests the same as in the olden days. There are dozens of churches in Moscow alone where Christians can go and worship. In fact on one occasion I followed a priest for miles to see if he would be in any way molested. He walked through the streets in his priestly garb and was not interfered with by anybody, nor did anybody take any notice of him. Probably there is more religious tolerance in Russia to-day than there has ever been. The Jews can have their synagogues in any part of Russia if they choose. This they could not do in the Czarist days. There is a Tartar temple in Leningrad and every species of religion is freely practised and permitted in Russia. The Soviet Government does not persecute religion nor does it give any privileges to religion either. Neither does it protect, uphold, or favour any religion, but as long as a community wishes to support their religion they can do so, and they do do so, quite openly, provided it does not interfere with the proper working of the State. Marriage and divorce are very simple ceremonies, the official part of which is gone through without much fuss in a few minutes. The result is that not one case of bigamy has ever been

recorded in Soviet Russia. However, there is nothing to prevent persons going through a religious ceremony if they want to. Thousands do. That is a matter of their own concern, their own conscience and their own belief. The State neither recommends a religious ceremony nor forbids it. Abortion is not prohibited as long as it is properly carried out at a hospital by experts.

A great deal has been said about Atheism and the so-called anti-religious museums to be found in the large cities of Russia. These anti-religious museums do not propound the doctrine of Atheism at all, but what they do is to show the tortures and oppression that practically every religion under the sun has practised at some time or other: the Protestant, the Catholic, the Mohammedan, the Jewish, the Hottentot and every sort of religion. If the visitor after seeing these tableaux should decide that he does not want to hear any more about religion, that is his business. If he wishes to carry on with religion, that is his business also. These museums do not defend or condemn any religion, they only show that all religions have been guilty, at some time or other, of torture, oppression or deceit.¹

No nation has been more active, in the realm of science, than Russia has been :

On the 2nd August, 1935, a young Russian surgeon by the name of Pethukhov reconstructed the broken skull of a mine-worker that had been crushed by a fall of rock in a mine in the province of Sverdlovsk. He had to piece together fifty fragments. His task was aggravated by the fact that the patient's entire left side had become paralysed as a result of the injury to the brain centres. The pulse of the mine-worker had almost ceased to beat and faulty blood-circulation in the brain had brought on complete blindness. The

¹ During the War the Russian military authorities even had cinematograph pictures of the Virgin Mary thrown on to the clouds so as to make the ignorant peasant soldiers believe that it was a visitation from heaven. Actual photographs of these pictures are to be seen in Moscow in the anti-religious museum.

intricate operation proved completely successful, with the paralysis disappearing after two days.

On the 4th August Professor Pavlov came from Russia to London to attend the International Congress of Neurologists. He is declared to be the greatest expert in the world on the human mind. It is stated that the animals he uses for his experiments are so attached to him that they actually come to him when called for experimental purposes.

On the 13th August Professor Platonov, of Kharkov, explained the results of his work in the field of painless childbirth by hypnotism. Of ninety cases, only 5 per cent showed negative results: but even where the pain was not completely eliminated it was considerably decreased.

On the 12th September Professor Smirnoff, of Moscow, actually raised a man from the dead. That is to say, that his heart had actually stopped beating and Professor Smirnoff connected up an artificial heart with the man's blood circulation. He replaced the blood lost by a number of transfusions from other human beings. The wound was bandaged and the heart set in motion. In a few moments the patient began to show signs of returning life. Finally, the heart began to beat again. The man was saved and is already on the road to recovery.

On the 18th September we read of an invention by a Russian doctor of science, Nicolas Serow, who has invented a method of chemically treating wood so that it becomes five times as hard as steel armour plate. After treatment, a wooden plate half an inch thick is said to show the same resistance as a two and a half inch steel plate, whilst still retaining all the lightness of wood.

Not only in medicine and science are the Russians progressing in the most remarkable manner, but in every walk of life. In aviation the Russians have made almost superhuman efforts, as already shown. A few outstanding feats are the following:

On the 3rd August three Russian airmen set out on one of the most daring flights ever attempted, to fly non-stop half-way round the world, from Moscow to San Francisco by way of the North Pole.¹ The aviators were Levanesky, Baidukov and Levchenko, and the duration of the flight sixty-five hours.

On the 10th September, Victor Yevseyev flew an aeroplane into the stratosphere and reached a height of nearly 40,000 feet, which is just over 7 miles up. Russia actually holds the record for balloon ascents into the stratosphere. A Soviet balloon has reached a height of 25 miles up.

On the 17th September, in Moscow, a parachute kite with a dome of 70 feet in diameter raised 4 tons 4000 feet in a wind of 25 feet per second. The Soviet authorities predict that parachute trains will be able to lift cargoes as far as the stratosphere.

On the 20th September two Soviet pilots, Romanov and Babykin, created a new world distance record. They covered 1437 miles in their balloon in 56 hours. The two men took off from Zvenigorod near Moscow and landed in Southern Kazakstan (South-Western Siberia). Their balloon was one of 2200 cubic metres' volume.

On the 29th September, Kharakhonov, the famous parachutist, performed an astonishing life-saving demonstration by jumping from an aeroplane at 2500 feet with a passenger who was supposed to be unconscious. As he fell he pulled the release of the "unconscious" man's parachute. He then swung clear, released his own parachute, and when he landed rushed to the aid of the other man.

In the world of sport and arts the Russians are also on the move :

In the beginning of August a group of thirty-nine Soviet dancers came to London. London was able

¹ The attempt was not successful. Nevertheless it shows that the Russians are doing things and making progress.

to see for the first time that amongst all the tremendous labours of building up a modern country out of its barbaric Czarist heritage she had not neglected any of the arts, including the graceful art of dancing. London was taken by storm by the beautiful dresses and wonderful dancing of the Russian folk dancers. They completely outclassed any of the other international dancers present.

On the 30th September the Sadlers Wells Opera Season opened with the original version of Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*. This has never been played in England before. The usual version previously used was corrected and arranged by Rimsky-Korsakov to such an extent that the original characteristics of *Boris Godunov* were hardly recognizable: it was altered to conform to nineteenth-century taste. It was Soviet Russia that unearthed Mussorgsky's original score, and for the first time the world has discovered that *Boris Godunov*, in its original form, was a more powerful and vital masterpiece than ever.

On the 29th August a Soviet Russian football team beat one of the best teams in France by six goals to one. The Sporting Reporter stated that the Russians proved that they had nothing to learn from continental and very little from British players.

On the 30th September a team of five men ran a race from Schluselburg, in the province of Leningrad, to Moscow, a distance of 475 miles, in just over nine days. The participants ran and walked, taking ten minutes' rest after every 6 miles. They covered an average of 50 miles a day.

As pioneer-adventurers the Soviets are making history :

On the 19th August, it was officially confirmed that Gillis Land, the mysterious Arctic island whose existence was first reported in 1707 by Captain Cornelius Gillis, an adventurous Scotsman, does not exist. This message came from the Soviet exploration ship *Sadko*, which was then cruising in the seas north of Spitzbergen, where the island, according to the charts,

is supposed to lie. To make certain, Babushkin, the Russian airman, took off from the ship to make an aerial survey of the spot marked on the map. On his return he confirmed that the supposed island was non-existent. The island has been the subject of controversy since Captain Gillis first reported its supposed existence.

On the 29th September, for the first time in history, four ordinary Russian freighters bearing commercial cargoes successfully completed the simultaneous east to west and west to east crossings along the northern coast of Europe and Asia through the Polar seas in one navigation season.

On the 30th September news was received that one of the most dangerous peaks in the Pamir Mountains, Central Asia—the mountain group known as the Roof of the World, because of its great height—had been climbed by a detachment of three hundred Red Army officers and men. Their feat, which took more than six days, constitutes a world record for “mass mountaineering.” The cavalry squadron, which accompanied the mountaineering detachment, performed an equally outstanding feat. Not a single horse was lost, not a single horseman lagged behind. The distance was 620 miles.

In Industry and Commerce the progress of Russia has been no less amazing :

The production of coal in 1913 was 29,000,000 tons, in 1933, 76,000,000 tons. Oil and gas in 1913 was 9,000,000 tons and in 1933, 23,000,000 tons. The output of pig-iron in 1913 was 4,000,000 tons and in 1933, 7,000,000 tons. *In September of 1934 it was greater even than that of the United States of America.* Electricity has jumped from 1900 in 1913 to, in 1933, 16,000 Mill. Kwt. hours. Before the War there were no tractors built in Russia ; in 1933 the Russians built 78,000, and they built 50,000 motor-cars in the same year as compared with only 670 in 1928, and none in Czarist Russia.

These are just a few side-lights on the Russia of to-day, all of which has happened within *the two months of August and September of this year, 1935*. Russia, in seventeen years, has gone from medieval barbarism to be the most progressive nation in the world.

The astonishing part about all this is the fact that Russia after the Revolution had neither an industrial population of any importance nor industrial experts. She had to prepare and train them, and, in the majority of cases, the people used were peasants direct from the land. From this year, 1935, onwards Russia will have not only a tremendous population of trained industrial workers but will have produced hundreds of thousands of her own industrial experts, so that it will be interesting to see what the next "five-year plan" is going to produce. Something of this may be seen in the output of the large-scale industry which, in 1934, was over 20 per cent greater than in 1933. The number of workers employed in 1934 was 9.6 per cent more than in 1933, but the productivity of labour was 17 per cent higher, while the cost of production decreased by 6 per cent. These figures show how Soviet workers are now mastering modern technique and becoming properly industrialized. The result of which has been that Russia has been able to build up not only a tremendous heavy industry, but her workers are capable of turning out the most complex modern machinery. In the Czarist days Russia imported practically everything it needed for its industrial life; to-day Russia is not only satisfying the greater part of her own needs but she is exporting enormous quantities of manufactured goods and, more and above all, Russia to-day is manufacturing her own producers' materials and heavy machinery.

Although we have heard so much about the failure of agriculture in Russia, on account of the forced collective system, nevertheless the 1933 figures were actually over 10 per cent higher than the 1913 figures, which were the largest previously known, when Russia was purely an agricultural peasant country. The agricultural production

of Russia in 1913 was 800,000,000 centners as against 898,000,000 centners in 1933, with the great difference that, before the Revolution, the chief object of agricultural production in Russia was export, whilst to-day the inhabitants are fed before the production is exported. The Russian market itself can to-day absorb more agricultural produce than was exported before the War on account of the bettered conditions and the industrialization of the working-classes.¹

Added to this, Russia will soon be able to produce all her own agricultural machinery, and she will then possess the largest scale agriculture in the world. As recently as 1931 the Soviet Union imported tractors to the value of 69,000,000 gold roubles. By 1932 the import of tractors had ceased altogether, because the Russians were producing them from their own works. The backward Russia of pre-War days can now produce all the tractors she requires for her own purposes: for the immense development of her agriculture that will thus become possible in the near future.

In 1931 Russia produced 4,000,000 tons of rolled metal and imported 1,300,000 tons. In 1934 the home production was over 7,000,000 tons and the import decreased to 200,000 tons.

As recently as 1932 Russia imported 145,000,000 gold roubles' worth of boilers. To-day she makes all her own. In 1932 Russia imported turbines to the value of 91,000,000 gold roubles. To-day the Soviet manufacture all their own turbines. In 1913 Czarist Russia had no chemical industry at all, in spite of the importance of chemical fertilisers for agriculture. As recently as 1930 Russia imported £1,000,000 worth of fertilisers. To-day, not only does Russia not need to import chemical fertiliser, but in 1934 she actually exported chemical fertilisers to the value of over half a million pounds

¹ By a decree issued on the 26th September, 1935, the Soviets decided to abolish rationing altogether. From that date the decree allows unrestricted sales in meats, fish, sugar, potatoes and butter and other fats in State and co-operative stores at price reductions ranging from 10 to 40 per cent.

sterling. Not only does Russia export chemical fertilisers, but she is also an exporter of cement, agricultural machinery, pig-iron, etc. Russia has turned from an importer of manufactured articles to an exporter of cotton piece-goods, oil products, cotton threads, electrical goods, agricultural machinery, sewing-machines, automobiles and hundreds of other products.

As recently as 1932 the Soviet Union had an *adverse* trade balance of 129,000,000 gold roubles. In 1934, just two years later, the Soviet Union had a *favourable* trade balance of nearly 186,000,000 gold roubles. No country in the world, not even America or Japan, can show such progress and such progress that has every appearance not only of being permanent but of developing beyond all range of vision. The gold mining of Russia alone to-day is enough to emancipate the Soviet Union from being indebted to anybody. Last year Russia produced nearly four and a half million ounces of gold. The output is expected to be greater even than that of the Transvaal within the next twelve or eighteen months. Russia no longer requires to go begging for credit. Russia to-day is in a position to pay cash for everything and to choose her own markets. Russia to-day is depending upon nobody and is the only country in the world that has within her own frontier all the raw materials required in modern warfare. The result of this has been that Russia to-day is accepted in the comity of nations as an equal and worthy partner. Gone are those frightful days during the terrible struggles of Russia when her people were starving, when the whole world was turned against her, when her nationals were insulted as no civilized people had ever been insulted before, when her diplomatic representatives were treated as the scum of the earth, when she was refused credits and diplomatic recognition by every country on the globe, when no nation turned to help her or to extend a helping hand. Russia has won through, and won through in a way that no other nation since the War has been able to equal or even to approach.

No nation's diplomatic representatives within the last

hundred years were subjected to the abominable treatment that Russia's representatives were subjected to in London in May of 1927. When diplomatic relations ceased they were not sent away with the usual diplomatic courtesies, they were simply bundled out of the country like criminals. Premises attached to the Embassy, that were also guaranteed full diplomatic privileges, were not only raided, but pneumatic drills were brought in by the police to break through the walls of the strong-rooms in the official search for State papers and documents that may have been left behind. Nothing could have been more savage than this treatment of another nation's official diplomatic representatives. Some idea can be obtained of the language used about the Russians in the Press of that epoch by reading a letter written by Lord Birkenhead, who was then Secretary of State for India, to Lord Irwin on the 26th May, 1927 :¹

"You will have been interested to notice that at last we have got rid of the Bolsheviks. Personally, I am delighted, though I think that we ought to have done so the moment the General Election was over ; and I have been trying to procure such a decision ever since.² I am satisfied that we are absolutely right and shall sustain no injury of any kind in consequence of this step. They never traded with us because they liked us, but only because it suited them. If it continues to suit them, as it must, they will continue to trade with us. Our average gold payments to them in the past few years have been about £15,000,000 sterling a year. Without these payments I do not think that they could have sustained their new exchange. Materially, therefore, if I am right in these views we lose nothing ; and upon the other side we have sustained immense moral gain. We have got rid of the

¹ *Frederick Edwin, Earl of Birkenhead.* Birkenhead : Thornton, Butterworth, Ltd.

² At the General Election of October 29th, 1924—the Zinovieff letter election—the Conservatives gained 155 seats, thus obtaining an absolute majority of 222 over the other parties combined (Conservatives 413 seats, Labour 151 and Liberals 40).

hypocrisy of pretending to have friendly relations with this gang of murderers, revolutionaries and thieves. I breathe quite differently now that we have purged our capital of these unclean and treacherous elements."

Now Lord Birkenhead was possibly the most influential member of the Government of the day—of one of the largest Conservative majorities ever returned to power in Great Britain—so that his opinions may be said to reflect fairly well the mentality of the average Britisher *vis-à-vis* Russia, and the opinions of the average Britisher are derived from what he reads in his morning newspaper.

The Conservatives were badly beaten in the 1929 elections and the second Labour Administration was formed.¹ Once again diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia were renewed. In the 1931 elections Labour was thrown out of office and the Parliamentary Labour Party were practically annihilated² by the National Government.

Also Germany, at this time, was doing her utmost to make the plight of the Soviets still worse. She was even toying with the idea of forming a coalition for the invasion of Russia. On 1st June, 1932, the German Imperial Chancellor, Franz von Papen, summoned a number of prominent generals and naval commanders to discuss the possibility of such a step.³ The whole world was against this Russia that so needed the help of the whole world to assist her in building up a new Russia. Their only crime was that they wanted to carry out their own system of government in their own particular fashion, the same as we ourselves were doing. However, in spite of it all, the Russians kept on at their job against such tremendous odds and, in the end, they have come out on top.

France treated Soviet Russia no better than we did. France refused to recognize the Soviets because the Soviets would not recognize the old Czarist debts.

¹ Labour 288, Conservatives 260, Liberals 59.

² The National Government obtained at the 1931 elections 552 seats (Conservatives 471, Liberals 68, National Labour 13). The Labour Party obtained only 52 seats altogether.

³ *Berlin Diaries*. Jarrolds. Helmuth Klotz. Hugenberg Memorandum at Economic Conference in London.

France had lent money to Czarist Russia in order to have Czarist help in case of a war with Germany. When the War came Czarist Russia gave her help. She gave millions of the lives of her citizens. How many millions nobody knows. More millions, probably, than all the rest of the belligerents put together. Surely that should have been sufficient payment of Russia's debts to France. But France is a veritable harpy when it comes to money. However, to-day the whole position is reversed. Nothing succeeds like success. Everybody is only too pleased now not only to recognize the Soviet Government but to respect its Institutions. America who, since the fall of Wilson, would never hear even of recognizing the existence of the Soviet State, has changed entirely round. On the seventeenth anniversary of the Russian revolution, 10th November, 1934, President Roosevelt sent the following affectionate telegram to the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets:

"On the occasion of the Anniversary of the Establishment of the Soviet Government, please accept my very best wishes for the success and prosperity of your country."

Only two years ago America would not recognize the Soviets. To-day the President of the United States sends his best wishes for the success and prosperity of the Soviets. What a great thing money is!

Mighty France, in her fear of a rising Germany, has not only forgotten all about the Czarist debts, but she now welcomes an alliance with Soviet Russia. What a difference! Not only does France want an alliance with Soviet Russia, but our own Tories—those very Tories to whom Lord Birkenhead belonged—also want an alliance with Russia. Mr. Duff Cooper, Conservative member for Westminster, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, speaking at Maidstone on the 19th May, 1935, made the proposal that Britain, France, Italy *and Russia* should stand solidly together for peace, and that they desired and intended that peace should be continued and that any disturber of the peace would have to face them all.

Russia's representatives abroad are no longer treated with the disrespect and contempt that they formerly were, but now they are looked up to and treated as well, if not better, than the political representatives of other nations. Mr. Litvinov to-day commands the ears of the whole world, and he commands the ears of the whole world, not because he is any more respectable than he was in 1925, but simply because Russia has proved her case, and the case she has proved is the case of the rich uncle. What a powerful factor money is in the world when a Tory Minister should now look upon Soviet Russia as a worthy ally in the cause of peace. What a change that France should now regard Soviet Russia as the best ally she can find for her future struggle with Germany; enough to make her forget all about those funny little Czarist debts. The Russian politicians are no longer a gang of *murderers, revolutionaries and thieves*¹ but the representatives of a great and worthy people.

Even the City of London, the poor old City of London, has begun to wake up. When, in 1924, they had the chance of obtaining all Russia's foreign trade they played the rôle of usurers. The conditions they demanded for a loan were so harsh that even the Russia of 1924, down and out as she was, could not accede to them.

What a contrast in 1934! Sir John Beale, a Director of the Midland Bank, declares that the Export Credits Guarantee Department, in carrying out Government policy, was profiteering on its guarantees to Russian trade when it should have been operating on a purely cost basis. The City men defend their attitude to-day by saying that the conditions they wanted to impose were reasonable enough in times when the Soviet's credit abroad was not so secure—*though she has never defaulted on any foreign loan*. The fact that she has never defaulted on any foreign loan has been emphasized in Parliament by Robert John Graham Boothby, Conservative M.P. for Aberdeen. In July, 1935, he declared that Soviet Russia had an exemplary debt record and it had always met its own financial obligations punctually. What a difference

¹ See page 71.

between the voice of the Tories and the City of to-day and that of 1927, when the Russians were thrown out of England as so many lepers, not fit to come into contact with decent people.¹ Perhaps after all no writer in Great Britain has quite put the position so well as the "Observer" of the 10th December, 1933, in *The World : Week by Week* :

"Time was, not long ago, when Mr. Litvinov could hardly get himself reported in any newspaper outside Moscow. His views are now sought and studied in most countries. His recent visit to Washington was a diplomatic landmark. When he left Rome last Tuesday he made a widely published statement about the League of Nations. He said that Russia would not join the League, that Geneva's talks about disarmament were a waste of time so long as a war mentality persisted, but that Russia herself was pacific. The truth is that as Russia has turned the corner in her domestic economics, so she has achieved an important, in some ways cardinal, position in the present phase of high diplomacy.

And that was in 1933. Now, most people are beginning to realize this fact, although the Germans, with respect to Russia, stand about where we stood five years ago. On the 13th September, 1935, the German Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebels, in an address at the Nazi Congress in Nuremberg, stated that

"Stalin had been a bank robber, and that Lenin and Litvinov were receivers of stolen property. That Stalin had carried out the bomb outrage against the Tiflis State Bank in 1907 where thirty people lost their lives."

But it is not much use our laughing at the German Ministers and Press for making such statements and writing such nonsense, because that was the sort of rubbish that used to appear daily in the British Press also, and the British readers of the British Press, in those days, used to believe it.

¹ See page 71.

If all this progress has been made in the last ten years—from 1925 to 1935—what will be the progress made by Russia in the next ten years—from 1935 to 1945—if they can only have ten years of peace to develop in? There is no knowing what progress Russia can make in the next ten years. Any calculation would be pure guess-work. The progress in the last ten years has been not only amazing, but so amazing that it has deceived our own Tory Ministers and the City financiers. It has been amazingly incredible. Up to 1924 Russia was torn to pieces by invasion, by disease, by lack of food, by refusal of credits and by the malice of her neighbours and her betrayal by her former friends. She had no statesmen of any experience, and her system was entirely broken down on account of the desertion of her leading officials and functionaries. She had no commercial experience of any consequence and no industry of any importance. She had been smashed to pieces by the War and her transport system was worse than useless. To-day Russia looks at the world with pride and looks back upon her ten years of labour and construction with the knowledge that she has achieved more than any other civilized power in the same time. This being the case, what can Russia achieve in the next ten years now that she has all the gold that she requires, that she has a properly trained permanent staff of civil servants, that she is strong at home and abroad, that she has hundreds of thousands of industrial experts that she can count on, that her universities are producing great scientists, her industry is turning out all the machinery that she requires and her factories beginning to satisfy the nation's needs. Give Russia another ten years of peace to consolidate and develop her progress and there is no knowing what will be the limit. One prophecy can be safely made: if Russia is going to continue in the next ten years at the rate she has pushed ahead in the last ten years then half the States of Eastern Europe will want to join the Soviets. That goes without saying. The question is, will her neighbours let Russia have ten years of peace. If they do, Russia will be as firm as a rock and unassailable.

By 1940, Russia will have her first crop of middle-aged men who have grown up under the Soviet system. We shall then see the results of these men of experience and what they can do and produce. Whatever progress the Soviet has made up to now has been done with inexperienced personnel as far as the system is concerned. They have had to build everything up with a personnel reared under capitalist conditions. The real effects of the Soviet system will only come to full development when men of experience are at the helm who have been reared and educated in *Soviet* Russia. But when a foreigner goes to Russia to-day let him not compare conditions in Russia with those existing in his own country. He must compare what Russia is with what Russia was, and then draw his own conclusions about what Russia is destined to be in the future. Russia has launched upon an entirely different idea of civilization from the rest of the world. Whatever one may say of the Russians, the great majority of them are happy and they have reason to be happy. Very few Russians of to-day would ever care to return to the conditions of the Czarist days: the days of Rasputin, the days of corruption, the days of bribery, the days of the insane privileges of the rich and the criminally downtrodden poor. The days of Czarism and feudalism have passed for ever in Russia. Russian working-classes may not be so well off as the British working-classes are at present, *when they have jobs to go to*, but their future is infinitely brighter and more hopeful. They have everything to hope for in the future. The Russian future is a land full of hope and promise. The Russian soldier of to-day, therefore, is not the same man as the Russian soldier of the Russo-Japanese war or even of the European war. To-day his land is his and he is prepared to fight for it. The drastic measures that exist in the other European armies are not necessary in the Russian army. The Russian army of to-morrow will be an army that takes the field in defence of its own rights and its own property, and woe betide any nation that thinks that in fighting Russia it is up against the army of the Czarist days. It will not be a matter of one rifle

for twelve soldiers, which actually happened in 1915 in the Carpathians, but it will be a well-armed, well-organized Russian army, fighting in defence of the future that is theirs : individually and collectively. And how good that army may be can be conjectured from a report received by General Schleicher, German War Minister, on the 7th July, 1932, from the German military expert in Moscow :¹

“The condition of the Russian army must be excellent! Splendid human material, clever and incorruptible officers, clear-cut organization and, above all, an almost incredible technical perfection.”

And that was in 1932. Since then the Russian army has made even greater strides.²

¹ *Berlin Diaries*. Jarrolds. Helmuth Klotz.

² See page 60.

The European Mess

IT is impossible to give anything like an idea of the causes leading up to the conditions existing in Europe to-day without going back not only to the Treaty of Versailles but right back to pre-War conditions. Up to 1914, that is to say before the War, the old wrangle as to who should possess Alsace-Lorraine was still going on. It appears that whenever there was a war between France and Germany, the victors took over Alsace-Lorraine; it was a trophy like the four-horsed chariot which graced the top of the Arc de Triomphe, after a French victory, or the Brandenburger Tor after a German victory, although, up to the beginning of 1914, the French seem to have got pretty used to the idea of having definitely lost this territory, while Germany seemed to be envisaging the possibility of their never being able to hold it. Alsace-Lorraine was the pawn in any major European conflagration because, say what you will, any such conflict must of necessity involve France and Germany. Therefore, the whole political structure of Europe was built up around the belligerency of France and Germany. Neither of these two nations really wanted to fight each other. They both feared war, but they both so expected a conflict that the whole of their existence was taken up in preparation for the war which they were sure was inevitable. The only excuse that France had for going to war was the fact that they had lost Alsace-Lorraine, which they never hoped to get back. The only excuse that Germany had for going to war against France was to hold on to Alsace-Lorraine, which they never hoped to keep. And through these futile considerations the peace of Europe was in constant jeopardy for over forty years. This kept the nerves of Europe so

much on edge that, sooner or later, a war was bound to occur even if Germany had abandoned her plans to dominate the Balkans and the East.

It is as difficult to realize as to exaggerate the hatred engendered by this eternal question of Alsace-Lorraine. For over forty years up to 1914 the watchword of France was *Revanche*. Revenge for her defeat in 1871. Alsace-Lorraine must be won back, not because it was French territory, but because its recovery would completely avenge and remove the dishonour of defeat. French honour must be won back, and the symbol of that honour was Alsace-Lorraine. The kiddies at school had it continually drummed into their heads that the defeat of 1871 must be avenged. Poor kids! When the students entered the universities, again it was *Revanche*. When they entered the army, *Revanche*. When they got married, *Revanche*. Always the ghost of national honour haunted the Frenchman's mind uttering the word *Revanche*.

At last war did come, and with it the defeat of Germany. As statesmen representing Britain, America and Italy were so prominent at the Peace Conference, it might have been hoped that the question of Alsace-Lorraine would be dealt with in such a way that it could never again be a prime motive for war. However, in the end it once more passed over from the vanquished to the victors. French honour was satisfied.

One of the chief factors contributing to the great crack-up of the Central Powers was Wilson's Fourteen Points and Four Principles, proclaimed in January and February, 1918. In the following October Wilson even stated on behalf of the Allies and America that they would accept the Fourteen Points as a basis for a Peace Treaty, the only extra condition laid down being that Germany should pay compensation for damage suffered by the *civilian* population in the occupied territories during the War. But when the defeated German gave in to the Allies there was no further question of the Fourteen Points. The Fourteen Points were a dead letter. Alsace-Lorraine was once more returned to France, and the whole business started all over again.

Nevertheless, in the third of Wilson's Four Principles, proclaimed in February of 1918, it clearly stated that :

“ Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival States.”

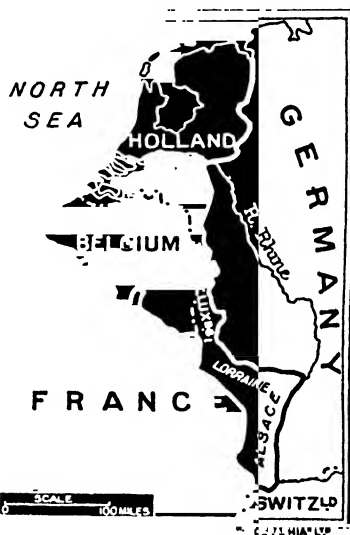
It is quite true that France recovered Alsace-Lorraine ; but how was she going to keep Alsace-Lorraine ? That was the burning question. In the Great War, France was helped by England, Italy, America, China, Japan and goodness only knows what other countries, but in the next war in which she would be engaged with Germany would she be able to count upon so much help coming to succour her ? There was Germany on the one side with a population of sixty millions, and her own population dwindling below thirty-eight millions. That was the hard nut that France had to crack. How could France possibly hope to face Germany single-handed at such terrible odds ? How could a nation of thirty-eight millions face a nation of sixty millions ?

Therefore, at the Conference of Versailles, and ever since that Conference, the whole preoccupation of France has been to see how she can make up for the difference of her thirty-eight millions of population against Germany's sixty millions, and it is this preoccupation which has kept Europe in continual unrest since 1919.

If the American, British and Italian delegates at the Conference had been statesmen, or even politicians, they would have seen to it that this question which was so vital to France was not allowed to be the key-point of the Conference, which in fact it became. There were only two ways of dealing with Alsace-Lorraine. It is not a bit of good being sentimental about the matter and thinking that as France was one of the principal victor-nations it must necessarily come back to France, because it formerly belonged to France. One of the principal objects of the Versailles Treaty was to break away from past traditions and to try to rearrange the map of Europe

in such a way as to wipe out all future causes for war. It should not have been a matter whether in some former phase of history Alsace-Lorraine belonged to France or not, but what was the safest thing to be done with Alsace-Lorraine from a European point of view, and not from a purely French or German point of view. This would have taken that old bone of contention away from

The first way would have been to have made an both warrior nations and settled the matter once and for all.



DIVIDING STATES BETWEEN
GERMANY AND FRANCE

independent state of Alsace-Lorraine, a second small Switzerland, and then we should have had a series of small buffer states right from the Alps to the North Sea, separating France and Germany for ever. Right from the Alps to the North Sea, France would have been separated from her traditional enemy. There would have been no point of contact anywhere. There would have been a long stretch of neutral territory separating the two countries for all time.

The second way would have been to divide up Alsace-Lorraine into French and German-speaking parts, giving

the French-speaking part to France and leaving the German-speaking part to Germany. This would have settled the whole of the *linguo-national* question, because it *is* only a *linguo-national* question; how can it be anything else, apart from the economic interests involved? And they are purely German, built up by Germany and developed by Germany and, more than anything else, economically, belonging to the German market system. Because, after all, the Alsace-Lorraine that was taken from France in 1871 could not be compared with the Alsace-Lorraine of 1914. The Alsace-Lorraine of 1871 was just an agricultural territory of no outstanding wealth or importance, whereas the Alsace-Lorraine that Germany was forced to cede to France in 1918 was one of the most scientifically developed industrial areas of the whole world. In fact the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine were so much better off under Germany than they would be under France, that France was obliged to guarantee them certain concessions that the rest of the inhabitants of France did not enjoy and do not enjoy even now. There is no question of any racial unit either.

It is no good talking about Latins and Germans because there is absolutely nothing to distinguish the French-speaking people from the German-speaking people, in Alsace-Lorraine, except the fact that they speak either French or German.

However, neither of these sensible methods were adopted. The whole of Alsace-Lorraine was given back to France and thus were sown the seeds of the next European war when Alsace-Lorraine will have to change hands again, if the Germans are successful, and the traditional symbol of victory, the four-horsed chariot will be taken from the Arc de Triomphe and go back to the Brandenburger Tor once more.

Having re-entered into possession of Alsace-Lorraine once again it has been the constant pre-occupation of France ever since to find out some means of holding on to it. Some means of counteracting the difference between the sixty millions of Germany and the thirty-eight millions, or less, of which France is composed,

because, after all, it must never be forgotten that France contains tremendous masses of foreigners: Italians, Greeks and various others who are not so very interested in the fate of Alsace-Lorraine.

In order to do this, France has tried to build up a wall of alliances with the nations on Germany's eastern frontier, and also to weaken Germany in every possible



THE POLISH CORRIDOR

way. The Polish Corridor was driven right through eastern Prussia, separating a territory (East Prussia) of over two million inhabitants from their German brethren.

The Polish Corridor crime was a thousand times worse than if Germany, having won the War, had driven a corridor across what is now the Caledonian Canal, and given a strip to Holland, about ten miles wide purely in order to have weakened Britain. That is more or less

what France's action in giving that corridor to Poland, cloven right through one of the most fruitful parts of Germany, amounts to. In agreeing to this act of criminality, France's allies committed one of the most violent outrages against civilization that has ever been known to history. It is quite true that, for the moment, Hitler has said that Germany has quite settled down to the idea of the Polish Corridor, but those who know German history understand only too well that when Germany is strong enough, not only the Polish Corridor, but Alsace-Lorraine are going to be fought for with German blood and iron. Whatever Germany says at the present moment is only meant to suit her present conditions. When she is strong enough, nothing in the world can hold the young Germany back from not only taking back the Polish Corridor but fighting to wrest Alsace-Lorraine once more from France. Experts in European history must know that only too well.

The excuse given for the Polish Corridor was to provide Poland with an outlet to the sea. In order to give Poland a seaport, another outrage was perpetrated against Germany: Danzig was taken from her and declared a Free City. Now of all that is most German in Germany, nothing is more German than Danzig. Its architecture is German, its people are typically German and its history has essentially been one long struggle to remain German; right back from the days when it belonged to the Teutonic knights. It is quite true that not all the inhabitants of the Polish Corridor speak German. In that lost area of land various languages, dialects and mixtures of languages and dialects are spoken. But if the Corridor were taken as a whole, including Danzig, it would certainly be found that German was by far the predominant language, even after these seventeen post-War years have elapsed, during which Poland's programme of de-nationalization has been in full swing. And it is no use trying to separate the question of Danzig from that of the Corridor, although Danzig still proudly bears the name of Free City. Danzig may be a Free City to a certain extent, but her railways are linked up

with the Polish network ; in her foreign relations she is controlled and represented by Poland, who also looks after the Danzigers abroad. Danzig, although a Free City, has been forced to join in union with the Polish Customs.

There would have been no technical difficulty in linking up the railways of the Danzig Province with the East Prussian system, and it would have been only natural, but it was linked up with the Polish system. It would have been far better to have entrusted the foreign relations of Danzig to Germany, people of the same kith and kin, but they were entrusted to Poland. It would have been far fairer to have allowed Danzig to remain a Free City, in the old sense of the word, in union with no other Power's Customs or, if there must be a fiscal link with a greater nation, this should have been with Germany. But no, it had to join up in union with Poland. Danzig has, at present, all the disadvantages of the Corridor and none of its advantages.

Can any greater sacrilege have been perpetrated against any country ? But so great was France's desire to weaken Germany by strengthening her eastern neighbours, enemies of the Reich but the allies of France, that France stopped at nothing. This Polish Corridor, by separating Eastern Prussia from the rest of Germany really meant that, sooner or later, that large tract of Prussia which lay on the eastern side of the Corridor would become Polish. It would have to become Polish, in the course of time, for its very existence, seeing that Polish territory nearly surrounds it. This will become almost an accomplished fact if, some day, Lithuania and Poland find it to their interest to form some sort of Union or Federation. Then Eastern Prussia will be entirely surrounded, except on the side where the sea is, unless the Corridor be abolished. That must mean absorption, and that is doubtless what France was aiming at.

If France, after the signing of the Armistice, had only adopted a definitely pacific attitude, the political outlook of Europe to-day would be entirely different from what it is. If, in 1919, after the final laying down of arms,

France had turned to Germany and said : " In 1870 you gave us a hiding, now we have given you one, so let's get together and be sensible." That would have been the sanest course, but France did not do that. She adopted a far more ferocious system of harassing Germany than Germany ever adopted after the Franco-Prussian war. Germany must not only be crushed but humiliated beyond all imaginable measure. The occupation of the Ruhr by black troops was only one of the humiliations that Germany was forced to suffer. The stirring up of an insurrection, the aim of which was to separate the left bank of the Rhine from Germany, was another.

The German Government did try their best to fulfil their obligations under the Versailles Treaty. The disarmament clauses were faithfully carried out and the German mark was driven out of existence in its struggle to make payments that were totally beyond economic possibility. France, on the other hand, did not fulfil her Versailles Treaty obligations either in the military or financial clauses. The disarmament of Germany was decided upon ostensibly, as a prelude to total disarmament ; but once Germany was disarmed, France actually began to increase her armaments, and has continued to increase them ever since, in spite of the fact that the fourth of Wilson's Fourteen Points reads categorically : *Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.*

With this added strength to France and Germany's increased weakness, humiliation after humiliation was heaped upon the Reich. For Germany there was absolutely no way out. She could offer no resistance of any kind whatsoever. Financially she was ruined, and the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty had deprived her of all her armaments and that proud army of millions of the best-trained soldiers that ever had marched on to a battlefield was reduced to 100,000 men. She was to have no cannons, no fortifications, no army, no officers' training college, no general staff, no air force, no navy, in fact she was to be kept completely disarmed from

every military point of view. Financially she was to be bled in the most merciless way, to make her pay for the last war. *No sum was fixed, but she was to go on paying to the utmost of her capacity.* No reason or logic was used about these payments; no compunctions were felt. The greatest military machine that the world had ever dreamt of was reduced to a modest police force. So what could Germany do but lie low and suffer humiliation after humiliation? How could she resist with a France on her western frontier more powerfully armed than France ever was before *in any epoch of her history*, and threatened on the eastern borders by the states that France had created and armed as well?

Not only could France exact any conditions she wanted, but she encouraged her allies, Germany's eastern neighbours, to join in the shark's feast and pull away portions of Eastern Germany and annex them to their own territories. Three and a half million Germans were given to Czechoslovakia, over two million Germans were separated from Germany by the Polish Corridor, as a first step towards total absorption into northern Poland, as already had been done with the five million Ukrainians in Southern Poland; beautiful Danzig was taken from Germany and nominally made a Free City; but only nominally, because, as I have shown, the Poles really are the masters of Danzig, whether it is called a Free City or not.

Wrenching Danzig from Germany was not the greatest sin committed against Danzig, although it was great enough, goodness only knows. Danzig was ostensibly made a Free City in order to give Poland access to the sea, in spite of the fact that neither Czechoslovakia, nor Austria, nor Switzerland have access to the sea and seem to have managed very well without it, Switzerland having done so for hundreds of years past. But immediately the Corridor was given to Poland and Danzig taken from Germany, Poland, deliberately encouraged by France, began to construct the port of Gdynia, which is in the territory of the Polish Corridor itself, so as not to use Danzig, which was contrary to the spirit of this

part of the Treaty of Versailles: Danzig was made a Free City so that it would be used as an outlet to the sea for Poland. Poland, on the contrary has built Gdynia, so that the very life's blood of Danzig is being sapped. Danzig cannot be used by Germany, because the Polish Corridor prevents it. Poland has built her own port alongside Danzig, so as not to use Danzig whenever possible. Thus, from being one of the most prosperous cities in Germany, Danzig is now slowly languishing, longing to return to Germany, as her inhabitants showed by their vote in 1933, but not allowed to by the Treaty of Versailles, and robbed of the prosperity that would have been hers if the spirit and the letter of the Treaty of Versailles had been faithfully and truly carried out. As against this, Gdynia, which was a seaside village of not more than a couple of thousand inhabitants in 1918, is now a growing seaport town and naval fortress of over sixty thousand souls. There would be no difficulty whatsoever in Danzig's returning to Germany, in spite of the Polish Corridor, because she forms part of East Prussia, but Poland will not hear of it, and yet she deliberately builds up the port of Gdynia so as not to use Danzig.

What is to become of Danzig? On what can Danzig depend for its existence? What was the good of wrenching Danzig from Germany, to give Poland access to the sea, if Poland will not use its port; and what is the use of preventing Danzig from returning to Germany if Poland does not want to use it? The one and only answer is France's inordinate fear of Germany's tremendous population. Anything and everything has been done and is being done to counteract this great advantage that Germany will always have over France. Actually, between France and Germany there is no real basic cause for war, any more than there is between England and America. In fact, if such a thing as a reason for war could possibly exist, there are far greater reasons for war between England and America than between France and Germany. There is real rivalry between England and America in almost every sphere of action, and there is very little between France and Germany. France does

not hope to annex any part of Germany, nor does Germany want any French territory within her pre-War boundaries, yet between England and America there is hardly the possibility of war against each other, while Germany and France are always ready to fly at each other's throats. If France had only behaved in a conciliatory way towards Germany, after the War, things might have been very different, but France could not behave in a conciliatory way unless she had been prepared to renounce the German-speaking portion of Alsace-Lorraine. And as soon as France had decided that both Alsace and Lorraine were to be French again, then she had to get ready for a future war. Sooner or later it will have to come, and it is this fear that guides every action of France as a nation. Everything must be done to pile up armaments against Germany. Money is squandered—money that France sorely needs—in buying and arming allies against Germany for the time when war will eventually break out.

The world is kept in a perpetual state of panic on account of the enmity between these two great nations, not knowing when war is coming to obstruct every great highway of international trade, banking and commerce. France steadfastly opposes anything that tends towards increasing Germany's population, no matter whether her action is just or unjust, justified or unjustifiable; whereas she will encourage any movement, no matter how treacherous or subversive, if the result is to diminish the expanse of the German Empire. The War was not ended with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. It has never ended. France deliberately encouraged the rebellious movement to separate the territory on the left bank of the Rhine from the German Empire. Those weeks of bloodshed would never have occurred but for the encouragement and promises that France had given to the rebel leaders.

But of all the mad folly practised by France, nothing was worse than her treatment of the question of Austria. Austria, before the War, was the second largest State in Europe. Only Russia was larger than the Austrian

Empire. The population of the Austrian Empire was about forty-six millions. Vienna was the capital of that immense State, with a population of nearly two millions. As a result of the War the Austrian Empire was reduced to about an eighth of its size. This left a minute State with one of the largest cities in the world as its capital. But it must not be forgotten that Vienna had grown up as the capital of a vast State with a very large population. Its buildings were those of the capital of an immense empire. Its shops, its people, its streets and mode of existence were all in keeping with the administrative centre of that vast territory. Vienna was no ordinary industrial outgrowth. Vienna had grown up with its palaces, museums, Imperial Court and courtiers, officers and higher civil servants solely as the central point of the Empire. What good is Vienna to this tiny State that is now Austria? This Austria of six million inhabitants? The empire that extended over 240,000 square miles is now reduced to a little over 30,000 square miles; from over forty-six million inhabitants to less than six million inhabitants; with its great departmental offices built to administer a population of over forty-six millions. There is no chance for this great Vienna to exist inside tiny Austria. There is no life for it. There is no reason for its existence.

After the peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Austria wanted to become part of the German Empire. France would not allow it. The only reason being that it would add another six millions to the already large population of the German Empire. That was the sole reason for preventing one of the most sensible and practical solutions to the difficult problem that the new Austria presented. But any solution, no matter how reasonable, sensible or practical, that meant increasing the population of Germany, would not be acceptable to France, and France would have been quite prepared to resort to arms to prevent it.

Vienna, as a great city within the confines of the German Empire, would have been quite another proposition than as the monstrosity-capital of a tiny State.

It may have been that with Vienna in the Empire the character of the German Reich would have changed definitely. To say the very least, it would have eclipsed the importance of Berlin to a tremendous extent. At present it is Berlin, and Berlin alone, which dictates the policy of Prussia and the German Empire. But with Vienna within the German Empire, a great deal of the importance of Berlin would have had to be shared with Vienna. Certainly the voices of Bavaria and Württemberg would have been appreciably strengthened if Austria had been added to the German Empire, apart from the fact that the addition of six million Roman Catholics to the German Empire in the south would have meant a counterweight to the absolute supremacy of Prussia in the north. France's greatest enemy in Germany has always been Prussia, so any sensible person would have thought that France would have done everything possible to weaken the influence of Berlin and Prussia within the German Empire, yet when she gets this very chance of doing so she deliberately throws the opportunity away and opposes the Anschluss—the movement that was heading for the inclusion of Austria in the German Empire.

So great is France's obsession against anything that tends towards increasing Germany's already large population that she is blind to all reason or common fairness. As capital of Austria Vienna cannot possibly exist. Austria, with Vienna as its tremendous capital, built for a State of over forty-six millions, instead of as now only six millions, cannot possibly hope for any sort of existence. Vienna, as a great city within the German Empire, could look forward to a new era of great prosperity. Austria, as one of the Federal States of the German Empire, would not only have found a market for her products, but would have been able to live a great reciprocal life with the other States of the German Empire, counting, from a cultural point of view, more than Berlin itself. She could have made use of the whole of her administrative population and edifices as part of the German Empire, a population and edifices that are not only

useless but an absolute encumbrance in the tiny State which is now Austria.

But France could not see all that. France could not even see the possibility of weakening the influence of Prussia in Germany, by the entrance of Austria into the Confederation. France could only see that six million Germans would be added to Germany by the Anschluss, and she was determined to prevent it, no matter at what cost. Germany, on the other hand, wanted the inclusion of these six million Germans within the German Empire. If not, a German land, Austria, would wilt and perish. Her inclusion in the German Empire would, in some measure, have compensated the Reich for the parts of Prussia that were given to Poland and Denmark and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.

So that if Austria had been allowed to join the German Empire this would at least have given Germany some satisfaction. But no, slices of Germany can be taken away and given to Belgium, Denmark, France and Poland, so as to lessen the German population, but nothing that might increase her population must be given to Germany, no matter how much better off Europe and the world in general might be by the transfer.

The result was that the German people became exasperated. That Socialist Government which came into being in 1918 with such goodwill and which boded so well for the future peace of Europe, had no possibility of continuing to exist on account of French exactions and injustice. The position of the German people became intolerable. The old gang in Germany gradually began to get back into their old stride. The Crown Prince returned to Berlin and was welcome. The German people did not know where to look or what to do to secure relief. They could not place any faith in their governments, because their governments were helpless in face of the French attitude to anything German. They were humiliated to the depth of a third-class nation. They yearned for somebody to take a strong line with regard to France. They yearned for somebody who would face France as Mussolini did. Every German

admired Mussolini. They wanted a Mussolini for themselves, at whatever price, to free them from French shackles. Somebody to take a bold line of action, so that they could once more hold up their heads. There was only one man who promised them anything like the realisation of their aspirations, and that man was Adolf Hitler.

Hitler had nothing to lose ; nor had his followers. They were entirely discredited people in Germany. The *putsch* in the brewery-cellar in Munich was not even a comic-opera ; it was a pantomime. Hitler himself was not even a German. Nothing is ever written about his antecedents, but such was the desperation of this once proud race, whose posts of honour were only held by families of centuries-long lineage, that they placed the supreme power of government in the hands of a man who was not only totally unknown and absolutely lacking in any sort of political or administrative experience, but a man void of public experience of any kind : by trade a decorative painter. Up to the time of his electoral victory he was not even German, but an Austrian subject. The only way by means of which he could become German, and thus accept public office, was to be nominated to a university professorship, which was done.

The case of Adolf Hitler is not an isolated one in Prussian history. The great Blücher himself was not a Prussian, but a Swede. In fact, he would not have been in the Prussian army at all if he had not been captured by the Prussians in 1760, during the Pomeranian Campaign, and it was not the only time that Blücher was captured either. Later, in 1806, he was captured by the French at Ratkau. However, he was exchanged for a French Colonel and returned to Prussia. The great Moltke himself was not a Prussian, but a Dane. He was a Danish officer before he became a Prussian. His whole family had served Denmark faithfully. His father before him was a Danish General of some note, while his cousin was actually the Danish War Minister at the time of the war with Prussia, and was victorious, in 1848. Yet no man contributed more to the unity of Germany than Helmuth von Moltke. It is quite true that Bismarck was the diplomat

whose finesse forged the links, but without Moltke nobody knows how long it would have taken to bring about that unity. It was not Bismarck who conceived the idea of a unified German nation. The Zollverein had been created as far back as 1834; the movement for German national unity was well under way by 1870; so that, even without Bismarck, German national unity would have been achieved, but it is really doubtful if it could have been achieved without Moltke. His was the brain that had worked out the plans for the war against Denmark; in the question of Schleswig-Holstein, and later, in 1866, his was the brain that produced the victory of Sadowa, making Prussia the head of the German States. Finally, in 1870, his great goal was reached in the victorious war with France, after which, at Versailles—in the year 1871—the German States became one nation. And this was achieved by a man who was not only not German, but whose father was a high officer in the Danish army, whose greatest enemy was Germany.

But we do not have to go so far back into the past to find cases of foreigners who have made German history. No man more influenced the psychology of the ruling classes in Germany than Houston Stewart Chamberlain. His book, *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnjahrhunderts*, made the German people actually believe that they were a superior race, and it was this man, more than any other individual, who created the psychology that eventually brought the Aryan question to a head in Germany. The Aryan question was not a post-War product; it was a burning question years before the world struggle. The Jews were as much a part and parcel of Germany's glories before the War as of Germany's misfortunes after the War. Long before 1914 the anti-Semite question had taken firm root in Germany. In fact, in 1914, there was a movement afoot to restrict the number of Jewish nationals in German universities to 10 per cent, and totally excluding all Jews of foreign nationality. Houston Stewart Chamberlain was not a German or anything like one. His father was an admiral in the British Navy. Houston Stewart himself

was born at Portsmouth. As English as anything could possibly be English. Yet the depth to which his influence has penetrated German opinion is unfathomable. During the Great War there were only two subjects of the Allied nations who were allowed complete liberty in Germany; one was Sir Roger Casement, who was shot on August 3rd, 1916, as a traitor, in the Tower of London; the other was Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who only became naturalized as a German in 1915, well after the Great War had begun.

Proud Germany and those old noble families have now elected a poor Austrian artisan to the highest office in the land, solely because he was the only man who promised to confront France fearlessly. He promised to treat her with rocklike firmness, and he did so. Germany withdrew from the League of Nations. Germany began to re-arm, and now she has re-introduced conscription, and torn up the Treaty of Versailles altogether in respect of every one of nearly all of its armament clauses.

The result is that France will have to start all over again. Poland is wavering in her allegiance to alliance with France and is being drawn into the German orbit. A strong Germany can find allies and support where a humiliated Germany only found enemies. Italy dare not forget that she has nearly a quarter of a million restive German-speaking people within her frontiers. But if Italy leans towards France, then Yugoslavia will radiate towards Germany, because Italy not only holds 600,000¹ of her people in her borders, but is the mortal enemy of Yugoslavia.² Hungary is forsaking France for Nazi Germany. While Germany was weak Hungary could do nothing. Now Hungary remembers that there are a million and a half Hungarians under Roumanian domination, languishing for liberation. So, whatever happens Hungary will side with the Power that is in opposition to Roumania.³

¹ Wilhelm Winkler : *Statistisches Handbuch der Europäischen Nationalitäten.*

² The Anglicised spelling in Yugoslavia.

³ On 27th September, 1935, all the great London newspapers published

Poor France! The most historical of Continental nations has learnt nothing from history. She has played right into the German Junkers' hands. If France had only adopted a conciliatory attitude after the War towards Ebert's Socialist administration, when the whole of Germany was fed up with the Kaiser, the old Imperial Government and all that it stood for, she might have been able to have brought about a total change in German belligerent psychology; but instead of that, she allowed her victory to fly to her head, she wanted to adopt the old-time, outworn pose of the Victor, parading her glories and oppressing the vanquished in the most shameful manner possible. Germany's behaviour, after the Franco-Prussian war, was gentleness itself compared with the behaviour of France after the World War. France refused to understand that oppression never pays, especially the oppression that tries to get blood out of a stone. The Germans lost all faith in their rulers, some of whom were really excellent men of the very finest standard. They wanted a deliverer from so much humiliation and oppression. Hitler and the Nazis grew in strength from a handful of totally discredited rabble to embrace some of the most patriotic men in Germany. Hitler was the only man who promised them deliverance, and his power and reputation grew, until he not only obtained the great office of Reichskanzler, but a newer and greater facts about an approaching alliance between Germany, Poland and Hungary. The following lines are taken from *The Times*:

"General Gömbös, the Hungarian Prime Minister, arrived in Berlin by air to-day in the big German aeroplane, Manfred von Richthoven, which was placed at his disposal by General Göring, the German Air Minister and Prussian Premier. He is accompanied by two officials of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, and it is admitted that advantage will be taken of his presence in Germany for him to have talks with Herr Hitler and other leading members of the German regime. Lieutenant-General Milch, Secretary of State at the German Air Ministry, flew in the opposite direction yesterday to pay a visit of some days' duration to Budapest. There is inevitably a tendency to link up these moves with others connected with General Göring's stag-shooting parties, such as Herr von Ribbentrop's hunting trip to Poland after his attendance, together with distinguished Polish guests, at the General's last country party."

office, one that even Hindenburg himself, the idol of the Fatherland, had ever dared aspire to : the office of Chancellor and President in one.

So that now France finds herself faced not with the cringing, pleading Germany of 1919, but a newly-inspired arrogant Germany, a Germany that remembers the words and deeds of Father Jahn, who is no longer going to be dictated to or oppressed. This new Germany hates France with all the ferocity that France's barbaric treatment has brought about. This new Germany has thrown off the foreign yoke and started to take her destiny into her own hands. And to-day France is faced with a more terrible foe than she has ever faced before. The world's sympathies have shifted from France and France finds herself alone, no longer able to count on any of the Great Powers to come to her aid as they did in 1914. It is true that she is still the most formidably armed nation in the world, but of what avail will her superiority in armaments be against the new Germany? That new Germany, brought up in suffering, reared on memories of the glories of the past and the humiliation of the present ; a nation eager to emulate its forefathers and to regain its lost lands and liberties. France has brought all this on herself. She alone is responsible for the rise of Hitler and Hitlerism and all that that stands for. With reasonably humane treatment post-War Germany could have taken her place among the other great democratic nations ; but all that is changed now. Now it is too late. Naziism is here to stay ; Naziism is preparing for a future war with France and, ironical as it may seem, France has prepared her own doom. If France had only behaved differently, there would have been no Hitler. Hitler was the last resort of Germany and the Germans. Hitler and the Hitlerites did not achieve power. The way to power was paved for them by the obsession that blinded France to all facts except Germany's tremendous population.

The rise of Fascism in Germany cannot be compared with the rise of Fascism in Italy. Fascism was able to grow in Italy, because the Communists had taken

possession of the factories in the northern industrial area. And Communism, at that time was not only known as a system of oppression, but it was proving a failure everywhere. In Russia people were starving and cases of cannibalism were not unknown. The Soviets had not yet been able to assert themselves completely. Terrible tales were current in all parts of Europe about the tragedy that was Russia.¹ Exaggerated descriptions of executions and political crimes were printed in every European newspaper. The progress that the Soviets were making was never mentioned; the difficulties they had to face were exaggerated beyond all imagination. Very few travellers went to Russia in those days to investigate for themselves, and Russians were hardly allowed to enter any other country, if they were known to be Communists. The inhabitants of Italy took the news as they received it. They regarded Communism as some impossible monstrosity stalking over their country, and they welcomed the advent of Mussolini and all he stood for.

But not so with Hitler. The Soviets were a recognized government long before Hitlerism gained the ascendancy. Communism was already widely regarded as an accepted form of government, with definite ideals and virtues. Communism was no longer looked upon as the menacing terror it was thought to be in the first years after the War. The Soviets had already completed their first five-year-plan to the astonishment of the world. Russia was fast becoming one of the great industrial countries. From a purely agricultural peasant country Russia, under the guidance of her Communist leaders, already seemed destined to become one of the greatest, if not the greatest, industrial country in the world. Some of the clearest thinkers in Germany were Socialists or Communists. So that it was not fear of Communism that brought Hitlerism into being. It was hatred of France, and this hatred France herself had engendered.

What is France going to do now? Poland is wavering in her allegiance to her ally. Czechoslovakia dare not move against a strong Germany, because out of her population of fifteen million inhabitants, three and

a half million are German. If Jugoslavia comes into the field to help France, she will have Italy pouncing on her back. There is no love lost between Italy and France, on account of the misunderstanding that exists about Nice and Tunis. According to the ideology of Irredentism, Nice, which was the birthplace of Garibaldi, Italy's great patriot, is Italian and must become Italian. As Tunis is claimed to be more Italian than French, Italy has her eye on that huge territory as well. So that there is not much chance of Italy's throwing in her lot with France, unless France decides to make her a present of these coveted lands. Besides, if Italy joins in on the side of France, Jugoslavia will certainly join in on the side opposed to Italy, because if there is no love lost between Italy and France, positive hatred exists between Jugoslavia and Italy. Jugoslavia can never forget D'Annunzio's descent on Fiume, after Fiume was awarded to Jugoslavia by common consent of the Great Powers. Moreover, Jugoslavia wants to liberate the 600,000 Slavs who now live under the Italian flag against their will. Roumania has always been a strong French supporter, but if Roumania helped France, Hungary would join Germany immediately. The Hungarians hate nobody as much as Roumania. Roumania was awarded over a million and a half Hungarians by the Treaty of Trianon. Moreover, it seems hardly possible for Roumania to stir, without Bulgaria attacking her in the back.

Bulgaria wants to get the Dobruja back again. It belonged to Bulgaria before, and Roumania only acquired it on account of Bulgaria's utter exhaustion. Roumania had done nothing to help the enemies of Turkey in the first Balkan war. She played the Italian game of sitting on the wall and waiting. Nor did she do anything in the second Balkan war, when the Balkan allies quarrelled over the spoils; but when Bulgaria was down and out, defeated by the combination of Serbia, Montenegro and Greece, Roumania quietly walked in and took possession of the Dobruja. It is more than possible that if that had not happened, Bulgaria would not have joined the Central European Powers in the Great War. The Roumanians

did not lose one soldier in taking the Dobruja. Bulgaria is always on the alert and at a given moment she will align herself with those Powers who will help her to get the Dobruja back again. It seems impossible to get Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Roumania involved without Greece being forced to join in. Greece will join up against Italy, whatever happens. Greece cannot forget that Italy has occupied the Dodecanese Islands and has made Albania practically an Italian dependency.¹ If Bulgaria joins in the general flare up, Turkey will have to as well, in fulfilment of the Balkan Pact, against Bulgaria.

What a mess the whole thing really is! The Great War instead of clearing up the situation has left the most dreadful legacy ever known. Before the War there were the great Powers, second-class Powers and third and less-class Powers. A war broke out, every now and again, but it was ended and that was that until the next. But now Europe is in such a tangle that the slightest mishap can start a general conflict which will have to be fought out to its bitter end. There will be no half-way measures. The hatred is too great, and most of that hatred was engendered by the Treaty of Versailles and the subsequent French influence.

The tragic thing about the whole affair is, that there seems absolutely no way or means of avoiding the terrible clash that must inevitably come. A year or two may still go on simmering, until Germany feels herself strong enough, and then the axe will fall with a vengeance. Hitler is playing a deep game. He has shown himself to be one of the astutest politicians that Germany has ever had. He has not rushed bull-headed into anything, but he has played a cool and careful game. He is biding his time. He is following in the footsteps of Frederick the Great, Hardenberg and Bismarck. It is the real old-time Prussian diplomacy played with consummate skill. This decorative painter, this upstart, this nobody, who is where he is because he promised the impossible, has turned out to be one of the finest psychologists in Europe. He understands his Germans as no man understands him.

¹ This fact was clearly demonstrated at the Geneva Sanctions Conference, October 1935.

He knows the condition of Europe as few can envisage it. France who ordered Europe about before Hitler's coming, does not know where to turn and whom to turn to. His diplomatic handling of the Polish Corridor question has had no parallel since the War. He has turned Poland from a foe into a friend. From an ally of France into almost an ally of Germany. He has told Poland that Germany renounces the Corridor. So he may do, for the time being. Let him settle with France first. The Corridor can wait. It is the old Bismarckian policy all over again. Prussia and Austria made war on Denmark. When Denmark was defeated Prussia turned on Austria and defeated her. But Bismarck did not annex any Austrian territory. He was too clever for that. He only came to an agreement with the enemy that in a future war with France Austria should not help France; and so the day for the Franco-Prussian war was planned. It was a long-time policy, but it paid in the end. No other Minister in Germany would have dared to state officially that Germany renounced the Corridor; he would immediately have been regarded as a traitor; but so great is the confidence that the German people have in Hitler that whatever he says or does is not only accepted without comment but glorified. No other Minister, not even Bismarck himself, would have dared to take away the powers from the self-governing States and centralize as Hitler has done. Bismarck had to make all sorts of concessions to get the southern States to join in forming the Empire. Each State was allowed to retain its own Court and Parliaments. Saxony, Bavaria and Württemberg had their own kings; some retained their own postage stamps, while Bavaria retained its own army quite independently of Prussia or the rest of the German Empire. But Hitler just swept aside all these concessions with a stroke of the pen. Under any other ruler, this would have caused a civil war. The Bavarians would never have stood for it, but such is the power of Hitler in Germany, that he holds undisputed sway. Never before has such a spell been cast over a great nation.

Still, Hitler has done great things for Germany. He

has made the Germans self-respecting once more. He has given them backbone and courage. He has infused the old Prussian spirit of enthusiasm into them. They are no longer afraid of France, young Germany even is itching to come to a reckoning with France, aching to make amends for the shame and humiliation of the weak and cringing epoch in Germany since the War. France no longer instils dread into the heart of the German; she is now the foe that has made herself hated as she was never hated before, and with whom they are yearning to measure their strength. Germany was driven down and down until out of the ashes a Phoenix has arisen: the new Germany. The new Germany brought into being by France herself: by French tyranny, by French violence, by French oppression.

The tables are completely turned. Not sure of her allies, not sure even of herself, how is France going to face the new Germany: the Phoenix that has sprung up out of the ashes of the post-War, cringing, brow-beaten Germany? The new Germany will bide her time, as Bismarck did, and when she is ready she will march. For the moment she may have said that she renounces Alsace-Lorraine, the Polish Corridor and the other bits and pieces that have been torn away from her. She is playing for time. She is rearming and she will gird on her armour with a will.

A major catastrophe might still be avoided, but it would require such drastic action that it seems impossible of achievement. So long as Alsace-Lorraine is totally French, so long as the Polish Corridor exists, so long as Austria is forcibly separated from the rest of Germany, it will be impossible to remove the shadow of war from Europe. These are the sins of Versailles and the sons and son's sons of Europe will have to pay for their fathers' sins in framing that abominable treaty. It may yet be possible to wipe out the shame that clings to the treaty-framers for the torture that Germany was made to suffer by exacting fantastic payments and insisting on mountainous demands, if the ethnographical errors of the Versailles Treaty are amended. But it seems that no

Power would be heroic enough even to attempt to rectify what has been done, without war. No ministry in France would survive even the suggestion. Yet, everybody knows, in spite of Hitler's official renunciation, that Germany means war. She is only waiting until she is ready.

The really sensible way to have settled the eternal question of Alsace-Lorraine once and for all would have been to have had a plebiscite in this oft-disputed territory, similar to that instituted by Denmark to decide the question of Schleswig-Holstein. Schleswig and Holstein were two duchies formerly belonging to Denmark which were lost to the Prusso-Austrian allies in the war of 1864, and annexed by Prussia after the battle of Sadowa in 1866, when Prussia turned on Austria, her former ally against Denmark, in their quarrel over these very spoils.

According to the Allies' promises, the whole of this territory was to be returned to Denmark after the War, but instead of accepting the responsibility, Denmark divided the territory into three parts and held a plebiscite in each part separately. The southern part voted to remain with Germany, the northern part wanted to return to Denmark, but the middle part was divided. The Danish Government decided to keep only the northern part, where the Danish language is spoken and which voted to return to Denmark almost to a man. The other two sections, the German-speaking one which voted to remain in Germany, and the middle one, where both German and Danish are spoken, in which the voting was divided, was also returned to Germany. In consequence, no great degree of ill-feeling exists between Denmark and Germany about the territory which seceded from Germany and was returned to Denmark after over half a century's separation. Denmark's procedure was perfectly fair and it could have, and should have, been adopted with regard to Alsace-Lorraine, and the matter would then, probably, have been settled for good and for all to the satisfaction and relief of everybody—France and Germany not least of all.

With the Polish Corridor there should not be so much

difficulty. It was the most senseless and disgraceful action ever perpetrated in civilized times by a victor nation on a vanquished foe. What a contrast between the way the merciless Bismarck treated France in 1871 and the generous Latin nation treated the defeated Germans in 1919. In 1871, the victorious Germany, after having annexed the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine, actually returned Belfort and the surrounding land to France because, it appears, that during the war the fortress of Belfort had put up such a stout and plucky resistance that when it capitulated, after a siege of three months, on the 16th of February, 1871, the garrison were awarded full military honours. So great was her admiration for this plucky resistance that Germany returned the fortress and surrounding country to France. Now Belfort, as the Germans knew only too well, was bound to be one of the chief points of attack and defence on the French eastern frontier, in any future war with Germany. Nevertheless, no restrictions were imposed as to fortifications or making use of the surrounding lands as a military stronghold, in spite of the fact that Belfort virtually forms part of Alsace.

France, who prides herself on her chivalry, after the victory of the Allies, in spite of the splendid military effort by Germany throughout a long and continuous war of attrition, showed no chivalry at all. She splits Eastern Prussia in twain with a right-of-way to the sea, in no place less than about ten miles across, which she gives to Poland. Now Poland, during the Great War, did not show herself particularly helpful to the Allies at any time. There was no sense in maiming Germany in this way for the benefit of a Poland that had not earned our gratitude in any shape or form and to whom we were under no obligation whatsoever. There was certainly some excuse for France's taking back Alsace-Lorraine, and even for helping Denmark to regain a part of her lost territory, but to maim Germany in this way was beyond all reason or understanding. But instead of achieving its object of weakening Germany, this gash through one of her richest provinces has only strengthened

her. It bound the Germans together. It made them feel how desperate was their plight in their weakness. It was one of the many French mistakes that produced Hitler.

But if Poland must have some access to the sea, surely a more sensible way would be for Poland to enter into some sort of federation with the three small Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Left to themselves, these three tiny States have no future. In a federation with Poland they can become rich and prosperous. The whole population of Estonia amounts to a little over a million souls. She possesses one of the finest ports in the Baltic : Tallin, with a well-developed industry for which Poland is the proper outlet. As a seaport it is far beyond the needs of Estonia.

Latvia is rather larger, having about a million and a half inhabitants, about a sixth part of whom live in Riga, the capital. Before the War Riga was not only one of the best-known seaports in the world, but it was a very rich and prosperous industrial centre. Its vodka distilleries were world-renowned. It had also a vast rubber industry, and went in largely for waggon building, machine and implement making and shipbuilding. But the Latvian manufacturers were practically wiped out during the Great War. Some of its industries were destroyed by the Russians when they abandoned the province ; then the Germans did their share when they captured the city in 1917. Afterwards in 1918-1919 Riga fell into the hands of the Bolshevists and, finally, on the 22nd May, 1919, the city once more changed hands when the German and Baltic troops took possession of the city. In July of 1920, Latvia made peace with Germany, and in August of the same year with Russia. Since then Riga has once more become a prosperous and thriving city.

The third of the Baltic States, Lithuania, is an altogether different proposition. Lithuania is a country with a tremendous history behind it. Lithuania was at one time one of the chief Powers in the world. During the Fourteenth Century she was, if not the greatest, at least one of the greatest empires in Europe.

Her frontiers extended almost to Moscow in the east, and to the Black Sea in the south. In the west, the Lithuanian frontier almost reached Warsaw. With a territory stretching from Warsaw to Moscow and from the Baltic to the Black Sea, the greatness of the Lithuania of the Fourteenth Century did not stop there. In 1331 Gedimin, Grand-duke of Lithuania, came to the help of the Poles, who were in a very bad way. Poland had been on the decline for nearly a century. In 1241 the Mongols smashed the Polish army at Wahlstatt and reduced Poland almost to extinction. The Margraves of Brandenburg took advantage of the country's plight and seized some of the most prosperous areas. All through the Thirteenth Century Poland went from bad to worse. Finally Wladislas accepted Gedimin's help, and then things began to change. First of all the Teutonic Knights were dealt with and Poland, with Gedimin's help, went from victory to victory. Wladislas was now an old man of seventy and, on his death, in 1333, his son, Casimir, came to the throne. So glorious was the reign of this king that he became known to history as Casimir the Great. He left no heir to the throne. After some years of misfortune, in 1386, the Poles chose the Grand-duke of Lithuania, a direct descendant of Gedimin's, as King of Poland, under the name of Wladislas IV. Under him Poland and Lithuania became united and united they remained until Poland was torn to pieces by Prussia, Russia and Austria, in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century, and from thence forward practically ceased to exist as a nation.

Thus the histories of these two peoples were closely knitted together for about four and a half centuries. They are both of the Slavonic race. Their languages are of Slavonic origin. The great majority in both countries are Roman Catholics. The population of Lithuania to-day is about two millions. She possesses an excellent port: Memel. Before the War Memel belonged to Germany. Memel commands the entrance to the Kurisches Haff. It is well fortified and well protected. But here again is trouble to be faced. The town of Memel

itself is mostly German, although the surrounding country is very mixed. Geographically and economically the Memel territory belongs to Lithuania. Before the War it was the most northerly point of Germany. It was a town with German traditions and it suffered in its history because it was German. After Napoleon's crushing defeat of Prussia, in 1806, at Jena, it was to Memel that the King of Prussia, Frederick William III, retired.

The city itself was founded by the Teutonic Knights about the middle of the Thirteenth Century. On account of its unique position in the Baltic, its trade developed enormously, and it later formed part of the famous Hanseatic League. Its history was not a peaceful one, sometimes being burned by the Poles and sometimes by the Lithuanians. For a time it was occupied by the Swedes and for a time by the Russians.

Under the Treaty of Versailles, Memel was treated as a sort of Danzig; the fashion seemed to be that everybody must have a port at Germany's expense, and Memel was to be to Lithuania what Danzig was supposed to be to Poland. But with this difference: Poland had no coast at all and a corridor had to be made through Germany as a passage to Poland's port. Whereas, with Lithuania there was no need for a passage at all, as Lithuania has plenty of good coast, much more than she needs and also a port, Polango, not a very important one, but sufficient for Lithuania's needs, and with possibilities of development much greater than Gdynia ever had. But the Poles developed Gdynia, which was on Polish soil, to cut out Danzig; whereas the Lithuanians did not need to develop Polango, because they just seized Memel and turned it into Lithuanian soil.

The true history of the whole affair was that the Poles had seized Vilna in October of 1920, and were sticking to it, against the orders of the Supreme Council of the Allies at Paris, who accorded the town and district of Vilna to Lithuania in December of 1919. Only two days before she seized this place Poland had signed an agreement in the presence of the Commission of the

League of Nations recognizing Vilna and its region as a part of Lithuania.

War was again in the air, but the matter was settled by allowing Lithuania, in her turn, to occupy Memel. History records that the Lithuanians seized Memel by a surprise attack and forced the French garrison—put there by the League of Nations—to surrender and abandon the fortress. And the great and powerful Empire of France was so badly defeated by the new State of Lithuania that she evacuated the region!!¹

Nevertheless, if some federation of these Baltic States were brought about and the Corridor abolished, it is more than probable that Germany would soon reconcile herself to the loss of Memel, especially if some sort of exchange could be effected between the inhabitants of Memel against the inhabitants of the new Polish port of Gdynia.

The three States, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, hardly have four and a half million population between them. Separately, their existence must always be precarious; in a confederation with Poland they would certainly be much better off in every way, whilst their status as a nation would be vastly improved. This result could easily have been brought about by the great Powers in 1919, had they wished to put their minds to it, then there would have been no need to divide Eastern Prussia

¹ Elections take place in Memel on Sunday the 29th September, 1935. The following paragraph was taken from *The Times* of the 28th September:

“In spite of the assurances, the newspapers of the Reich continue to prophesy that the election will be improperly conducted and that the German minority will suffer from Lithuanian sharp practice.”

And the following from the *Daily Express*:

“In an attempt to reduce the overwhelming German majority in the last Diet—twenty-four out of twenty-nine seats—they began a widespread net of meetings. They are making the most of the last few hours before the polling booths open at 8 a.m. on Sunday.

During the week-end lull at Geneva the statesmen will turn their anxious eyes to the greatest danger-spot in Eastern Europe—Memel—where the election struggle between Germans and Lithuanians takes place on Sunday.”

from the rest of Germany to give Poland an exit to the sea. But French opinion held sway in the years following the War. Everything must be done to dismember Germany. Sooner or later that Polish Corridor is bound to be a cause for a future war, if its existence is allowed to continue. Germany knows only too well that if Eastern Prussia remains enclaved within Poland, without any land communication whatsoever, as at present, in the course of time it is bound to become Polish territory, and Germany is not going to sit idly by and watch that happen. If the Poles permit some sort of land communication, then they are doing away with the *raison d'être* of the Corridor altogether. If the Poles are sensible they will try to come to some sort of definite federal arrangement with the three Baltic States, so as to be in a position to return the Corridor to Germany. If she cannot reach an agreement with all three States, then, at least, she should make friends and link up with Lithuania with whom she was previously united for nearly four and a half centuries; during which period of union Poland reached the climax of her glory and power as a State. By so doing she would also be able to settle her difficulties with Lithuania about the Vilna question. In this way Poland can once more become a great and sovereign Power. If she does not follow this course, she must be prepared for a most disastrous war with Germany, anarchy and, possibly, a return to the servitude from which she has but recently emerged.

Rumour has it that an agreement was arrived at between Hitler and the late Field-Marshal Pilsudski that in the event of Germany's success in a war against Soviet Russia, Poland is to receive that long stretch of the Ukraine which leads down to Odessa, including Odessa itself, in exchange for the Polish Corridor and transit through Poland of German troops throughout the campaign. If this rumour is really true, it will mean that in such a war Poland will be the Belgium of the struggle so far as destruction is concerned.

The case of Hungary versus the Little Entente will probably have to wait for a war to settle. Hungary lost

tremendous tracts of land to the three "Little Entente" nations: Roumania, Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Of these huge tracts of land there are some portions that are really predominantly Hungarian. Small portions in comparison with what was taken away. It could be settled by a little war amongst the Powers directly concerned, but Italy might feel impelled, as the now natural



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THE NEW POLISH CORRIDOR

foe of Jugoslavia, to intervene on the side of Hungary. Of course, if Italy joined in, it would probably mean that France would have to take up arms as well, in defence of her ally Jugoslavia, and thus we should find ourselves just where we were on the 1st of August, 1914.

The only other way is the seemingly impossible, although the only logical one: All the Continental nations concerned in the Great War should arrange to

hold plebiscites in those lands which changed hands as a result of the Allied victory. They should agree to abide by the verdict of those plebiscites. England, America and Spain could act as referees for cases of appeal. It would doubtless be found that the alignment, after the plebiscites, would most certainly be on a language basis. The German-speaking people would want to go to Germany, the Hungarian-speaking minorities would vote to return to Hungary because, after all, language is the only issue worth considering.

If those plebiscites were held and allowed to be decisive, we should probably be able to settle down to an era of peace in Europe for the next hundred years, and reap the benefit of all its blessings. With the continuation of peace the majority of the nations would get fed up with subscribing hundreds of millions of pounds yearly for the upkeep of armies and navies which they looked like never using again, and with the abolition of these armaments another cause of war would be laid aside, because there is nothing so likely to bring about war as the possession of huge armaments. The man who has a revolver in his pocket may be inclined to use it in a quarrel, on the spur of the moment. If he is unarmed he may quite as easily be inclined to settle his quarrel over a whiskey and soda.

It is just the same with nations. If they are unprepared for war, they may be inclined to listen to reason, but if both disputing parties are powerfully armed reason takes a back seat. And so it is with France and Germany, the two most bellicose nations in Europe. Apart from the question of Alsace-Lorraine there is absolutely nothing that France and Germany have to fight about. In fact, if they could only settle this question peaceably, and get together, they could settle every other outstanding question on the European Continent between them. As it is, they both have to be mixed up, on different sides, in every petty squabble that happens to arise: and thus turn something that might be only a local tiff, into a major European conflagration. If they could only be made to see that their interests do not

clash in any quarter of the globe, apart from the eternal question of Alsace-Lorraine! With that settled, they might become the greatest factors in peace and disarmament yet known to history.

But how are you going to convince France of this? Does anybody really believe that France will ever renounce any part of Alsace-Lorraine, without being forced to do so as the outcome of an unsuccessful war? And does anybody believe that Germany is going to renounce the German-speaking parts of Alsace-Lorraine as long as she has soldiers to fight on a battlefield? She may still have to wait a year, five years or ten years, but sooner or later the dice will have to be thrown once more.

Again I ask, what is France going to do now that Germany has decided to tear up the Treaty of Versailles and rearm? She certainly will not be able to resist a rearmed Germany of over sixty million inhabitants, so that she finds herself in exactly the position that she tried to avoid by the use of violence, and this violence has reacted on Germany to such an extent that it has produced the very state of affairs which France used violent and tyrannous means to avoid. Violence and tyranny never pay in the long run.

The right method to have adopted, if France was afraid of Germany's ever-increasing population, was not to have used violence and tyranny to prevent something which was inevitable, but to have made a Latin union, more or less on the lines that Bismarck followed in forming the German union. Before 1870, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and Württemberg were all separate kingdoms. It was the fear of too strong a France that was the principal reason for their federation and later union. There is no reason why France, Italy, Spain and Portugal should not link up together in some sort of similar combine. Before the War there existed a Latin union for various matters, including the indiscriminate use of each other's silver money. In this way there would be formed a block of about one hundred and ten million people, as against Germany's possible seventy-five millions, even if the German part

of Alsace-Lorraine were returned to Germany, the Austrian Anschluss admitted and all those bits and pieces of German-speaking territories which have been bitten off in the general scramble given back to the Fatherland.

That would have been, and still is, the only sane and just solution of a very thorny problem. It is no good France's making use of violence and tyranny, piling up armaments and surrounding her enemy with a ring of armed neighbours because it is only laying on her own people a burden of useless expenditure that is totally unwarranted and means, after all, that the French people themselves, for no valid reason whatsoever, have to lower their general standard of living to meet this useless burden, which can only tend, still more, towards the increasing of that disparity of population which is France's nightmare. Let her pull out the thorn that is causing all the trouble and do away with all this useless arming of her own and her Allies' peoples and put an end to that system of military conscription which in itself is enough to cause a decrease in population: when a man is liable to be called up, at any time, from his twenty-first to his fifty-fifth year of age, his first interest in life cannot be to produce children and thus increase population. If a general friendly understanding could be reached with Germany, so that conscription for once and all could be abolished and the people's wealth now squandered on armaments diverted to the peoples' services, then France would be amply repaid for her renunciation of those parts of Alsace-Lorraine of which a plebiscite might deprive her, and, at last, after so many centuries of bitter enmity the peoples of Europe might look forward to an era of secure peace and happiness.

In a similar fashion the Balkan Pact, which has proved itself of such great value to the nations concerned, could become something bigger than a military pact. It could become a proper federation, especially if Bulgaria could be induced to join in.¹ In this case millions of pounds yearly could be saved, individually, by each of the States

¹ See page 99.

concerned. Nothing need alter their internal constitution. They could have a superior parliament, on the same lines as the Reichstag, yet each State could conserve its own internal independence. They could have a combined superior command to the army. They could have one system of post and railways for the whole federation. They would no longer need to keep internal frontiers. These could be wiped away, if they were a federal state. They could have one system of diplomatic representation for all the outside smaller powers which, in itself, would be a tremendous saving. And, to crown all, they could declare themselves one large free-trade area. They would then be a power to be reckoned with instead of, as at present, various small nations without air to breathe. Their possibilities of development, progress and advance would repay them for any *national* sacrifices that they may have to make to each other for the common cause.

As with the Balkan Pact, so with the North of Europe. Poland should federate not only with the Balkan States, but also with Czechoslovakia. Poland was at her very greatest when she was united with Lithuania or with the Czechs. Alone, she has always been faced with ruin. United with the others she has attained such greatness as very few nations have enjoyed. In a given epoch she saved Europe from one of the greatest calamities that Europe has ever been faced with: When her armies, under Sobieski, rushed to save Vienna. She is a sister nation of the Lithuanians and of the Czechs, and she ought to be great-hearted enough to know how to give in to these smaller sister-nations. At the present moment she is a pawn in anybody's game, without any real independence of her own at all. The Czechs, the Poles and the Baltic States could form as valuable a group in the North of Europe as the Balkan Pact has proved itself to be in the South of Europe. They could have a federated parliament and would lose nothing by it, but gain everything. It would be worth Poland's while to give way on the Vilna question to Lithuania and the Teschen question to Czechoslovakia for the sake of what their friendship might mean to Poland. A federated Baltic

Pact on this scale would not have to depend on either France or Germany because they would be strong in themselves and they would be able to defend their own history and destiny. At the present moment they are all dependent on whatever may happen in Europe, without knowing themselves what is going to happen.

Finally, astride over these two federated parliaments could sit a confederal parliament, representing both federated states. It would combine the whole of Eastern Europe in one, from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. A nation of over 110,000,000 strong. One great free-trade area with, possibly, one system of railways, posts and, as far as small nations are concerned, a unified diplomatic representation abroad. It is a dream worthy of trying to carry out. In this way, Europe would be divided into three tremendous units: the Latin unit, consisting of France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, in which there would be ample room for development of every description, a strong central German unit, and an eastern unit consisting of a confederation of all those small nations and expanded nations that have made their appearance on the map since 1918. In this way the United States of Europe, the dream of Briand, could be brought within the realms of possibility. But our civilisation is still far too brittle a thing to ever hope of being able to bring it about by the slack methods that Briand proposed to use. Over all this would stand the League of Nations. The League of Nations then would have a good strong basis to stand upon. It would deal with purely League questions, because all the minor questions would have ample opportunity for being thrashed out in their passage from a national parliament to a federal or a confederal parliament. Nothing could be more logical, nothing could be more peace-producing, yet nothing seems more impossible of realization as things are at present.

Asia

IN dealing with the question of the East, its problems and its relationship with Europe and America, we have to realize that the civilizations of Asia began in the very womb of History. Asia had great civilizations while Europe was not even within sight of entering History. Asia had communal life, enjoying the very highest developments of civilization, thousands of years before Northern Europe, and especially Britain, had emerged from the Stone Age. Asia had houses and palaces, abounding in comfort and luxury while the inhabitants of Europe were still offering up human sacrifices. They had civilized laws, they were learned in arts and sciences, had great poets, writers, historians and philosophers, they had gorgeously woven raiments and artistic furniture while Northern Europe and Britain were still shrouded in the mists of primitivity.

Apart from intercourse between Asia Minor and the Near East and one or two travellers of the greatest note, the first general contact between the West and the East took place about the middle of the Sixteenth Century. Back came the adventurers with glorious tales of boundless wealth in ornaments of gold, silver and precious stones ; of buildings that would turn our best European architects green with envy, of a wealth of minerals ; of great cities ; of rich and indulgent peoples ; of hospitality unknown in Europe ; of peoples so rich in wealth of every description as to make the greatest magnates of the West seem puny in comparison ; of properly paved streets, well-governed cities. Of peoples numbering scores of millions. Of age-worn civilizations that were forgotten, reborn and forgotten again before Europe had emerged from the earliest forms of savagery.

The Portuguese and the Spaniards descended upon Japan like pirates. They brought no civilizing element with them. They found themselves surrounded by boundless wealth of every description which they looted mercilessly. The first adventurers were soon followed by the priests, as was always the Spanish and Portuguese way. They were ostensibly there to spread the benefits of the Roman Catholic faith. There were no Protestants there at first to quarrel with, so they quarrelled amongst themselves. Later on, the Dutch brought the Protestant element and the ensuing wrangle made both sects feel thoroughly at home ! They each made converts amongst the Japanese, but the Shogun Hidetada became so annoyed with these incessant quarrels between the religions of the West that he threw out Catholic and Protestant alike, and forbade the teaching of Christianity, seeing that the Christians themselves could not decide on what was their true faith. However, under certain conditions some of the Dutch were allowed to remain, in order to teach the Japanese certain scientific advances that had not penetrated to the East. Even so, in the end, these had to go as well. Japan wanted no more of these foreign intruders who came only to plunder and pillage and to ruin their national harmony. They closed the door to the West. They preferred their own manner of living. Even the building of large ships was prohibited to keep the Japanese away from all foreign contact.

China, the oldest of all existing civilizations, has known tremendous eras of prosperity and far-spreading power. Mongol invaders penetrated into India and conquered half of Europe. The Finns and the Hungarians are the remnants of that enormous invasion. For three hundred years the Mongols retained possession of European territories. Then they returned within their own borders and cut themselves off from the West, in spite of leaving behind groups of settlers that grew into nations. But after the Mongols had returned to Asia, the Portuguese and Spanish adventures fell upon the Chinese river towns and coastal harbours. Again came religion and pillage, followed by expulsion.

India, that huge continent, bursting with wealth and population, presented an easy prey. Spaniards, Portuguese, religion, pillage, extortion. Dutch, French and English, all in succession. That has been the history of India for the last three hundred years. Abundant wealth, miserable poverty. Exploitation, hypocrisy, bigotry, faction-warfare; caste-tyranny. Trade, corruption, internecine struggle for European supremacy. The Black Hole; Plassey; the Proclamation of the Queen-Empress; Delhi; Gandhi.

In tackling the question of India let us not remain blind, for one moment, to the fact that the English are in India for the benefit of the English, and not for the benefit of the Indians. That is the first thing which has not only to be perfectly understood but also thoroughly appreciated. The English did not go to India as colonists. They went to get some share, by hook or by crook, in that unlimited store of wealth which the Indian peninsula embraced, and, what is more, made ruthless war, by all manner of means, on any outside power that also wanted to have a nibble for themselves. There was no question of settling our surplus population in India, as was the purpose in Africa, Canada and Australia, and developing those lands for the benefit of home trade and industry. We went to India to exploit the Indians for the benefit of our own commerce and finance, and we were prepared to dispute the rights of any rivals to participate in that exploitation, even of the Indians themselves. We were not only prepared to do so but we actually took steps to prevent the Indians from manufacturing any sort or description of warlike weapon.

The Boiler Act was passed ostensibly to prevent the Indians from manufacturing boilers, but the real idea was that if they could manufacture boilers they could also manufacture cannons. The British were not taking any risks. They were there for trade, and they were going to have the trade, as much of it as they could get, and they got as much of it as they could. By one means or another the Portuguese, the Dutch and, lastly, the French were practically driven out of India, until the

British had it nearly all their own way. But the fact cannot be lost sight of that we only went to India for trade. We were not sentimentalists anxious to show the Indians how to improve their standard of living; we wanted to exploit the Indian peninsula. Rest assured of one thing: if the process of civilizing India had produced a loss of money for us we should not have remained there, no matter how much good it might have done the peninsula itself. As soon as the Briton is touched in his pocket he clears out. Do not let us forget this point when we argue about how much we have done for India. First and foremost, we are business people, and if it is good business to civilize, well . . . one business is as good as another.

Nevertheless, it is quite true that the British have been a great factor of progress in India. Undoubtedly, were it not for the British, India would never have been partly united in the way it is at present. But we British have done this because it paid us to do so. It is trade we wanted, and it would not have paid us so well to develop trade in a country in chaos and rife with anarchy as in one whose people were working with the full benefits of peace and ordered government. We did not develop the railways of India because we were sentimentalists and thought that every country ought to be covered with a network of railways, but because our banks saw a very profitable business in directing a flow of investments into India. Not only did the banks gain by the interest accruing from the investments in India, but besides the railways being built, the rails, rolling-stock, engines, etc., had to be manufactured at home. More investments, through the banks, for the investing classes in Britain in those concerns supplying the Indian railways with equipment. We organized a better system of education for India, not because we were sentimentalists but because we are an eminently practical nation and we could not expect a complicated system of railways, posts and other public services to work unless we had the adequate personnel to man them. In other words, the continent of India could be exploited much more efficiently by

being properly civilized and governed than if it were allowed to run into anarchy. We gave India a highly efficient police system, not because we were at all interested in whether the police were good or bad as far as India was concerned, but for the sake of our investments and trade in and with India.

We built first-class harbours in India because we wanted to have a first-class merchant fleet servicing India, so as to exploit India in a first-class fashion, with good ships and good services. This brought us in further profits for our shipping companies for our banks who invested money in harbour-building, ship-building and all the ancillary trades therewith connected, not to speak of the profits on discounting bills and shipping-papers. Added to this our insurance companies reaped huge benefits by our skilful exploitation of India: marine insurance, life insurance, insurances of every kind. It is all big business on a tremendous scale, and not very much sentiment about it.

Cromwell laid down the law, in the Navigation Act, for British colonial enterprise: "Even a nail was to be made in England," and that has been the axiom which has guided Britain ever since in outward expansion: no aiming at sentimental glory, no senseless piracy, but a constructive system of statesmanlike exploitation which has never been equalled by any nation since the world's creation, and that policy has been pursued by whatever government happened to be in power. We sent our best brains to India to fill the Civil Service appointments because it paid us to. We could exploit a continent of three hundred millions much better than our own people at home where we had to fight for trade amongst ourselves. Not only did we send our best brains to India, but they received the treatment and conditions most likely to attract the best brains and get the best out of those best brains. After all, India paid for it, and it paid us to see that everything was as it should be.

With the inflow of money, as investments into India, and the development of her resources, the middle-class Indians began to be interested in trade and later in

industry. Money began to flow into commercial channels in the peninsula. The Indians themselves were not slow to profit by it. They were becoming better educated as far as schooling was concerned, and their outlook on life more Westernized. The middle classes of India became really rich and powerful. More trade for the home country in supplying the articles of Western luxury demanded by the possessors of this new wealth. Our own producers'-material¹ manufacturers saw that there was a good market in India for producers' materials. Our banks saw a profitable investment in lending money to India to buy producers' materials and lending money to the home market to supply producers' materials to the peninsula. More investments, more trade, more insurances. With this producers' material the Indians could manufacture some of their own cheaper cotton and other goods instead of buying them from England.

Here started the clash. The Indians themselves began to manufacture some of their own requirements. Lancashire began to feel the draught. Angry words about Indians who were undercutting Lancashire and robbing them of their legitimate exploitation. But no word is mentioned of the fact that it was not the Indians who started the idea. It was our own mill manufacturers. They saw an opportunity of selling machinery to India, so they were not going to worry their heads about Lancashire who was fully equipped. Our own bankers floated and negotiated the loans, our own moneyed-classes invested the money and even some of our own mill owners saw that it was more profitable to open up in India, where labour was cheaper, where it was possible to save heavy expenses, such as insurance and freight, and manufacture for India on the spot and collar the market from the other stay-at-home Lancashire manufacturers.

So the Indian industrialists became rich and prosperous. The need for luxuries grew. Although there

¹ Producers' material is the machinery used in the production of other machinery.

was less trade for Lancashire there was more trade for the rest of England. The increased wealth of millions of Indians called for more goods of a nature that were formerly looked upon as luxury articles, but had now become necessities. The development of the railways and other public services made tourism a very profitable industry in India. More investments for large hotels. Large hotels showed the need for furniture and other household equipment on a tremendous scale. With the increased wealth accruing to all classes India became a field for thousands and thousands of motor-cars, for electrical equipment, for agricultural implements of every description. The Indians became a travelling nation. More money invested in shipping and insurance and every description of travelling equipment.

But Lancashire kept on grumbling. Lancashire could not understand that what Lancashire had lost had come back to the rest of England a dozenfold. You cannot have it every way : if our mill-owners want to sell their producers' machinery to the Indians, if our bankers wish to float and negotiate the loans and our own people invest the money which has made it possible for the Indians to equip themselves, in part, to supply their own requirements, then it is not possible for Lancashire to exploit the market to its full extent as before. It is no good to complain about the Indians for taking advantage of the conjuncture ; we must try to understand that the home country as a whole has gained ten times more than it has lost. It is no use crying over an industry which they can never recover. Lancashire must turn round and look for new industries. It is no good shouting that cotton used to be one of our greatest industries, because slave-carrying used to be one as well, and just as the slave-carrying industry went out of existence, so will the cotton industry in time, and the best thing that the Lancashire industrialists can do is to look for new industries and stop squealing about the business that has gone never to return.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT FOR BRITISH INDIA

Year ¹ ending March 31st after that shown.	Loans raised in England for India. Balance at the end of year in £.	Imports from U.K. Rs. (1000).	Exports to U.K. Rs. (1000).	Shipping of British nationality with cargoes, etc., entering India. (tons).	Shipping of British nationality with cargoes, etc., leaving India. (tons).	Life assurance business done by Indian firms. ² Rs. (1000).
1913	177,064,757	1,175,826	573,552	6,198,848	6,486,282	
1914	176,190,358	929,388	558,869	4,902,067	5,176,751	31,999
1915	175,171,829	783,087	731,821	4,838,616	4,997,034	22,435
1916	174,144,724	877,812	790,764	4,517,589	4,687,406	17,541
1917	236,957,575	817,714	602,163	3,404,118	3,793,542	22,348
1918	202,528,570	769,962	700,361	3,582,541	3,506,425	28,559
1919	192,631,082	1,049,833	947,779	5,202,865	5,286,014	44,906
1920	191,329,245	2,045,990	529,714	6,113,299	5,750,777	51,691
1921	205,128,482	1,509,206	460,225	5,841,022	6,265,418	54,681
1922	242,631,497	1,400,457	659,144	5,419,050	6,240,024	56,410
1923	263,800,652	1,316,053	864,484	5,644,908	6,272,649	58,493
1924	341,040,430	1,334,505	975,433	6,065,711	6,468,955	68,859
1925	342,199,485	1,153,202	777,227	5,792,200	6,159,510	81,516
1926	339,086,453	1,105,343	633,878	5,745,050	6,051,524	103,492
1927	344,395,519	1,192,101	778,744	6,184,868	6,050,182	127,723
1928	353,381,515	1,132,443	690,432	6,605,164	6,520,890	154,080
1929	363,612,480	1,031,030	665,565	6,433,354	6,553,371	172,912

The Shipping figures are purely for ships of British nationality and do not include any of the goods carried in ships of any other nationality, which also carry goods from British ports to Indian ports and vice versa, for which figures are not available.

The Assurance figures are for Life Assurance only, done by Indian insurance firms, only, and not by British and Foreign Assurance Companies; nor do they include Fire, Marine, Liability, Burglary or any other class of Insurance.

There were no available insurance figures previous to 1913. The last available figure is for 1932, which was 196,639 thousands of rupees.

The first table of figures is taken from the Statistical Abstract for British India. The second table from the Annual Statement of Imports and Exports published annually by the Government of India.

British capital invested in India (Railways, Irrigation, Plantation, Mining, Banking and State Loans) £1,000,000,000. Interest on the same £120,000,000.

¹ Fiscal Year.

² Calendar Year.

FACING FACTS

STATISTICS OF BRITISH INDIA
IMPORTS FROM U.K.

Year ending March 31st of year sub- sequent to that shown.	Import of Cotton Goods.	Total Import of Machinery.	Import of Textile Machinery.	Import of Cotton Machinery.
1913	597,514,350	69,577,785	32,273,265	17,408,160
1914	453,695,910	55,829,085	23,826,345	14,849,670
1915	393,781,860	43,179,765	20,912,040	11,537,685
1916	456,949,725	48,095,715	22,386,855	11,952,990
1917	496,582,605	30,988,530	16,703,595	10,199,355
1918	425,814,465	32,083,665	19,744,275	13,649,325
1919	508,031,360	59,159,100	27,015,110	12,156,130
1920	811,072,780	175,300,090	65,005,720	35,463,760
1921	473,991,422	284,509,854	124,560,041	75,057,978
1922	592,257,379	198,772,285	104,314,348	83,055,972
1923	552,827,033	162,394,224	70,353,944	54,850,043
1924	662,492,072	123,953,954	36,147,962	25,236,638
1925	489,844,662	118,723,243	31,640,388	22,502,954
1926	490,073,133	106,586,212	23,967,368	16,230,386
1927	469,795,810	125,337,560	28,901,429	18,440,041
1928	450,873,325	140,941,444	34,110,076	19,778,668
1929	377,994,661	136,828,393	35,182,555	19,028,499

The years 1913-1929 are taken because, in both cases, they are the last of the normal years. The figures for 1913 would be partly War figures and the figures for 1929 would be partly boycott figures.

After all's said and done, Lancashire has had a pretty long innings. For generations cotton was grown in America and brought to Lancashire to be manufactured for the Indian market. What in the wide world is the good of sending cotton to England to be manufactured for the Indian market when it can go direct to India and be manufactured on the spot? It is not only a question of wages, but of shipment and transport also. It is quite true, in the past, that the climate of Lancashire was specially suited to the manufacture of cotton, but this advantage has long since been overcome by science, and there is no longer any reason at all why Lancashire should have any privilege in this respect. They have either to fight and hold the market or lose the market. It is no good at all protesting that they are losing their market

on account of the high wages they pay in this country, because reducing the wages of our workers will not get back our markets in the East ; it will only cause greater unemployment at home, by lowering the standard of living. Added to this is the fact, openly admitted, that if we paid our workers *no wages at all* we still could not compete with the Japanese. It is not a question of wages at all, but a question of organization and circumstances.

In the course of time, probably, India will not only manufacture all her own cotton goods but will grow all the raw cotton she requires, thus becoming self-supporting in this branch of industry. This will mean an immense saving in every sense of the word for India. In time the Indians themselves may become so efficient that they can open up new markets for their cotton goods outside India, and thus turn from an importing nation of cotton goods to an exporting nation.

Furthermore, we have never considered other nations when it suited our purpose not to do so, and yet those other nations have not squealed when they have found us stepping into their markets. When we began growing coffee in Kenya, to the prejudice of Brazil and Costa Rica, these countries did not protest against our doing so. When we began growing cotton in the Sudan the Americans did not protest. When Britain went over to import duties, thus closing a great many markets to Germany, Czechoslovakia and other nations, these countries took it in the natural course of things. So why should Lancashire make all this fuss because India, at our instigation for our profit, is manufacturing cotton goods for her own home market ? Lancashire must find other means of existence than supplying India with cheap cotton goods. It should be noted that the manufacture of better quality cotton goods has increased very perceptibly in Lancashire, and it is known that the Indian who can afford to buy the better article is still buying the English product. The increasing sale of the better product is only due to the better standard of living in India, partly caused by capturing the cheaper cotton trade from Lancashire. So much for Cotton !

With their rapidly increasing wealth, the Indians began to send their sons to other countries to study. Indians went to Paris, to Belgium, to Germany, to Austria and to America. They did not always return home so very enthusiastic about the British Raj. Everything in India was not quite up to the standard that it might be. The Indians should have more say in their own affairs. The results of the Russo-Japanese war opened the eyes of millions in India. The Great War came. As the standard of living of the Indians improved, the market became better from an exploitable point of view. There was more money to be spent. A better standard of living called for a better standard of education. The better standard of education made the Indians far more self-conscious and self-asserting. Congress. The Montague-Chelmsford reforms. The Boycott. The Round-Table Conferences. The White Paper. The Conservative Revolt. The Report. The passing of the new Government of India Act.

Now we are at the crossways. We have to be prepared to take the greatest peaceful decision in our history. We know that our only reason for being in India is for the profit we derive therefrom. There is no other reason whatsoever. If it cost us only a few millions a year to remain in India, we should soon clear out. We may be a great element of civilisation, but not at our taxpayers' expense. It is not glory we want, but profit. We are probably the greatest civilizing nation the world has ever known, but we civilize so as to develop markets, not because we want to see nice railways, bridges and viaducts bestriding the lands of the earth, but because those railways, bridges and viaducts bring us in profits in several shapes and forms. We do not try to give the Indian peoples peace for any other reason than that as peacefully working citizens they are better consumers and producers of profit than if they were continually warring against each other. We try to give them a better system of education because the very development, at present, of India demands a higher standard of living if we are going to reap the full benefits of our labours as

seed-sowers. If, in the course of this very development, some of our home industries and trades have to be sacrificed on the altar of general and total accrued profits, then do not blame India for that ; Manchester has lost, but London has gained tenfold. Everything has been done to develop India as a market and not from any longing to go down to posterity with a glorious halo over our heads. In two years of boycott our exports of cotton goods to India dropped from £377,994,661 in 1929 to £98,774,855 in 1931, and in machinery from £136,828,393 in 1929 to £77,318,410 in 1931. The total export figures dropped from £1,031,030 in 1929 to £448,143 in 1931. So that producing a feeling *likely to cause a boycott* will not pay.

However, nobody denies the fact that we have been very statesmanlike in the way we have gone forward with our work, and in doing so we have brought tremendous boons and blessings to the peoples of India. We are great civilizers because we are great statesmen, and we are great statesmen because we know just how far we can go and no further. We know that we must not squeeze too much juice out of the orange, if we want to keep on sucking it. Without being idealists we have tried to be fair. We have been by far the fairest and most straightforward of all the invaders of India. That is a sign of our talent as rulers and statesmen. Our poise, our reasoned judgment, our insistence on certain axioms of justice has been to a great extent the secret by which we have been able to harness to ourselves, in the past, the goodwill and co-operation of large sections of that diversified whole known as the peoples of India.

But are we going to waver on that profitable path at this juncture? Are we going to turn away in the future from that progressive road that has paid so well in the past? Are we going to allow a few dozen die-hard Tories to hold back the process of civilizing India, for our own benefit? For that is what it all means. We dare not hold up the civilizing process because a few dozen old gentlemen want to adopt the same methods in India

that failed in Ireland. We are not in India because we want to rule India, but because we want India's trade. We are in India because we want to exploit India for our own benefit. The system we have adopted, up to now, has proved itself successful. That is the system we must continue. We must be statesmanlike, we must use calm and reasoned judgment, we must be fair and straightforward, we must be just and businesslike. Then we shall continue to enjoy the goodwill and co-operation of large sections of the masses of India. If we attempt to use die-hard practices, then reaction will set in, progress will be slowed down, the standard of living will drop, goodwill will disappear, co-operation will be refused and that tremendous edifice of exploitation that has been so systematically developed will come crashing to the ground.

Our trading profits with India in a normal year amount to hundreds of millions of pounds, without taking into consideration the profits accruing from the invisible industries of freights, banking and insurance. Add to this, the thousands of Indian tourists who come to England, who send their sons to England to be educated, who study at our Universities. Besides the actual hands employed in mills manufacturing produce for India, do not forget the profits the bankers make in financing those very mills, the producers'-machinery manufacturers, the coal industry, the iron industry and the hundreds of other auxiliary trades, all more or less, depending upon our business with India.

India cannot be held back because a few arm-chair gentlemen want it to be. We dare not lose the goodwill and co-operation of the masses of India. At the present moment we have no idea what the industrial development of India may be like in twenty or thirty years' time. India may very well become the great industrial centre of a reviving Asia, and goodness only knows what vistas of trading possibilities that may open up for Britain. We may lose certain industrial business, as we have lost a part of the cotton business already, but what tremendous opportunities for gain that very

industrial development of India might produce in other directions !

It must not be forgotten that it is barely eighty years ago since Commodore Perry first tried to open up trading relations with another part of Asia : Japan. Up to that time Japan was practically cut off from the rest of the world. There was hardly any intercourse of any description with the outside world. When Perry arrived and showed the Japanese a model of a steam engine, they stared dumbfoundedly as if gazing on something supernatural. Steam, as power, was entirely unknown in Japan. That was in 1853. To-day, eighty years afterwards, Japan is one of the most powerful, most advanced and, mechanically, most progressive nations in the world. A country that had scarcely known the use of firearms in 1853, to-day is mistress of the Pacific. A nation which did not possess a single ocean-going ship in 1853, neither sail nor otherwise, in 1923, seventy years later, possessed three and a half million tons of steam shipping and a million tons of merchant sailers, as compared with only about two and a half million tons possessed by either Italy, Germany or France in the same epoch.

Now, we cannot afford to overlook this fact while dealing with India. India has got a much better starting-point than ever Japan had. In order to develop her country and her resources, Japan had to bring in all sorts of foreigners, and find the money to pay them. Englishmen and Scotsmen were brought over to show the Japanese how to build ships and construct her navy. Americans were called in to build railways, telegraphs and organize a postal service. French and Russian officers taught the Japanese the art of Soldiering. Germans were paid to advise on Education. But India has got over a great portion of these growing-pains. The development of India has not stood still. There is no conjecturing at the present moment what will be its industrial possibilities in two or three decades from now. So much will depend on the contemporary development of Persia, Arabia, Palestine, Afghanistan, Turkestan, Tibet, Burma, Siam and other countries which may very

well be supplied with the products of Indian industry. This, in the long run, will all redound to the benefit of British industry, finance and Insurance.

Are we then going to accept the position with the same statesmanlike qualities that have made the development of India such a success or are we going to try to stem the tide? We are at the cross-roads. We have to decide whether we are going to continue our great work of civilization and thus keep an ever-increasing trade, in one form or other, or whether our Governments are going to be influenced by a cabal of reactionaries who are incapable of judging any form of civic progress with statesmanlike perspective, and will lead to stagnation if not to upheaval, boycott and chaos. This will mean not an increasing trade, as we desire, but a loss of trade that will be irrecoverable.

The other great problem in Asia is Japan. Now the problem of Japan is altogether different from that of India, although Lancashire can only look at the two problems from a Cotton point of view.

In the case of India, it is purely a matter of accommodating ourselves to the new conditions that have arisen or are arising in that tremendous subcontinent, for better or for worse, and making the best of them. The decision rests with us. Whereas with Japan, we have the case of a very aggressive nation which, in an incredibly short space of time, has risen from complete isolation and obscurity to becoming one of the Great Powers, without having suffered a single set-back. Her case somewhat remotely resembles the rise of modern Germany up to 1914. It might even have been better for Japan, as a nation, if she had experienced greater difficulties in her rise among the great nations. That would have tempered her aggressiveness a little and made her pause. As it is, she is gathering nothing but enemies around her, even as Germany did prior to the Great War. The result will be, that a time will come when Japan will find herself faced not with one enemy at a time, as hitherto, but the whole world will find themselves forced to combine to resist her aggression.

As I have stated, the history of Modern Japan begins in 1853, when the United States sent Commodore Perry with four men-of-war to open up relations between the two countries.¹ The same year a Russian ship called with the same intentions. Then things began to move. Up to that time, the Japanese were not aware even of the existence of telegraphs and railways. But from then onwards all the energy of the Japanese rulers was used in turning Japan into a modern state, worthy of the name. In 1865 the Shogunate was done away with and the great feudal families ceased to rule Japan. The Mikado became an Emperor in fact as well as in name. The Samurai were forbidden to carry swords—which privilege to a Japanese nobleman was the greatest honour of all—and in 1877 the fate of the Samurai was definitely decided. The struggle lasted from January to September of that year. They were thirty thousand strong, well armed, well equipped and well officered. But the civilian population rose to the occasion and asserted itself. Harakiri became the order of the day amongst the defeated Japanese military noble class. Thousands could not face the disgrace of defeat. Their day was over. The day of the Tokugama warrior rulers had dawned its last. Japan was preparing to be a modern state on European lines. Her sons were to go abroad—to Europe and to America—to study, to learn, to investigate. These pioneers numbered between fifty and sixty all told. Very daring men they were too. They had to face terrible odds. The going was not easy. Some were murdered, others were executed and yet more broke down under the strain of it all. Prince Ito drew up a Constitution for Japan. He was murdered in Korea by a madman. Great names were these fifty or sixty men in Japanese history: Saigo Takamori, Itagaki, Okubo Kido and the others.

But Japan was not satisfied with sending her sons forth to learn the arts and sciences of the West, she brought the West to her own country as well. Englishmen and Scots were brought over to teach the Japanese shipbuilding and naval organization. They brought

Americans in to teach them how to run their railways, posts and telegraphs. From French and Russian officers they learnt the art of large-scale soldiering and German teachers and professors were brought over to reform and construct their educational centres.

By 1894, Japan felt herself strong enough to test her muscles. China was to be the first nation with whom Japan had chosen to measure herself and try out the results of her patience and hard work. Korea was the bone of contention. Japan's excuse was that Korea was too near to be occupied by a foreign nation. China was not prepared to sit still and see Korea occupied by Japan. War ensued. The Chinese did not stand the slightest chance. They were hopelessly beaten. In the first land battle the Chinese lost 6000 and the Japanese lost 700. In the first naval battle three Japanese cruisers faced three Chinese battleships. One Chinese ship was shattered, one was captured and the third escaped, useless for further action. Japan had not wasted her time since 1853. Japan captured from China the ports of Talien, Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei and thus ended the war. Korea was proclaimed independent—which it was before the war, in reality—and China ceded to Japan a part of Manchuria, the island of Formosa and the Pescadores. Then Europe intervened and made her give back a goodly part of her winnings. She was not strong enough yet to engage the whole of Europe. Still, she had not done badly in forty years.

However, the victory over China must not be taken too seriously. At the best of times it was a very old and worn-out Goliath that the Japanese David had shaken. China had for a long time been wobbling. It was not the China of Kublai Khan that Japan had humbled, but a very decrepit old giant that had already been stabbed a good many times by the far-off Europeans long before Japan determined to have a thrust. For nearly a hundred years prior to this China and England had not been getting along too well together. England's favourite little offspring, the East India Company, was the cause of the hatred that was brewing between

these two great nations. China found that it was harmful for the moral health of her subjects to allow the importation of opium into her Empire; but the East India Company found it was beneficial to the health of its finances to insist on exporting opium to China, whether the Chinese liked it or not. The real trouble started in 1796 when the Chinese made it illegal to import opium into China. The British Government backed up the East India Company, as was perfectly natural. What right had China to decide what was good or bad for her country when we wanted to do a bit of honest trade! So that for another forty years or so one incident followed another until in 1837—the year of the accession of Queen Victoria—the Chinese Government determined to put a stop to the opium trade altogether. The British were invited to co-operate in the suppression of this pernicious traffic, as far as China was concerned. But it did not suit us to do so. The profits were too big. After prolonged negotiations—in 1840—the British Government declared war on China. The Chinese were hopelessly beaten and the British were free to carry on the opium trade once more. In the treaty which followed this war—the Treaty of Nanking—the question of the opium traffic was not even discussed. This alone shows to what a condition of military weakness the Chinese had fallen. They could not even face up to the British naval and military strength in the East.

But this was not to be the end of the troubles which were to beset China. The world had found out what a defenceless monster China really was. In 1856, Britain found a new reason for a war with China. But the French joined in this time as well. China was too easy a prey for France to be left out in the cold. Another easy victory concluded by the Treaty of Tien-Tsin. And thus right onwards, up to the end of the century, China was bled from one side or another. If it was not the British it was the French. If it was not the French, then it was the Russians. It was on this weakened, wobbling, decrepit old China that Japan declared war in 1894.

But the victories of the Japanese were enough to make Europe sit up and rub its eyes. The European powers were not used to seeing Orientals win wars, not even over other Orientals. Up to now the winning of easy wars had always been the privilege of the Europeans. Now the Japs were sharing this privilege. Hair-raising tales of the Yellow Peril inundated Europe. But the British, as usual, kept their heads. Japan was not, so far, the greatest peril in Asia, as far as Britain was concerned. Russia was infinitely more dangerous. Russia could always threaten Britain on the Indian frontier. That was not too good. Something must be done about it now that something could be done about it. In 1902, we made an alliance with Japan. Japan did not like Russia either, so it suited us both. After the Japanese victory over China, China ceded to Japan a part of Manchuria. But this did not fit in with Russia's arrangements. So the Powers intervened and made Japan give this back to China, together with the famous fortress of Port Arthur. In 1898 Russia seized Port Arthur. This time the Powers did not interfere. France was Russia's ally; Germany was not yet sufficiently interested in the Far East and England knew a thing or two. It was a matter of letting sleeping dogs lie—for another few years. In the meantime we were busy helping the Japs to build and train a navy.

In 1904 Japan declared war on Russia. It was Japan's war from the outset. Russia did not stand a chance on either land or sea. Europe stood aghast with surprise. Only England was prepared for a Japanese victory, because England had prepared the way for it. The Nippo-British alliance was a great triumph of diplomacy. For decades to come Russia would cease to be a danger in the East, and Britain could pave the way with further diplomacy to face a new danger that was looming large on the horizon, in the West.

But here again the victory of the Japanese over the Russians cannot be regarded too seriously. The feat of arms was not so great as it appeared. The Japanese had everything in their favour, while the Russians had every-

thing against them. For the Japanese it was a patriotic war that was being waged, almost within shooting distance of their native land. Japan had recently emerged from a victorious campaign against the once mighty Chinese Empire. Japan was the ally of the greatest empire the world had ever known. Her navy had been organized and trained by the greatest sea-faring nation in history. The nation was young and ambitious. It was smarting under the knowledge that it was principally Russia who had prevented Japan from reaping the full fruits of her victory over China. They threw themselves with patriotic fervour into a war which they considered completely justified.

The Russians were fighting thousands of miles away from their homes. The Japanese were fighting to defend their very thresholds. Within forty-eight hours of the declaration of war the Japanese had landed an army at Chemulpo, in Korea, all prepared for war, and within another twenty-four hours they had practically annihilated the Russian far-eastern fleet. Some wicked tongues still say that Britain helped Japan by allowing her to conduct her operations from the great British base at Wei-hai-wei. The Russians got no help from anybody, not even from their allies, the French. Britain saw to that. It took weeks and weeks to bring their armies to the area of fighting. Now that their fleet was smashed, their only means of transport was that long, winding trans-Siberian railway. It was over 4000 miles to the nearest European centre and over 5500 miles to Moscow. To a great extent the railway only possessed a single track. Everything had to be carried on that track: men, artillery, horses, ammunition, ambulances, food and fodder. It took weeks and even months for Russia to assemble her armies on the fields of action, and when they arrived the Japanese were already there waiting for them.

The truth is, the Russians were never able to bring a properly equipped army into battle. They had no means of transport to do it with, whereas the Japanese could bring the whole of their fighting forces into the

fray. The seas were swept clean of Russian ships and Japan could borrow all the transports she was willing to pay for and purchase all the equipment she wanted to buy—even on credit. Furthermore, the spirit of the fighting forces was altogether different. Japan had been duped of the spoils of her victory over China. Russia had seized, with impunity, that very Port Arthur for which so many Japanese lives had been sacrificed. The Russians were being sent thousands of miles to a land they had never heard of, to fight for a cause they knew nothing about. Nihilism and anarchy were prevalent amongst the Russian soldiers while their Government at home was paralysed and on the verge of a revolution. No wonder that Japan's second military campaign since she became modernized on European standards ended so successfully for her.

Once more the peace treaty—the Treaty of Portsmouth—was not very fortunate for Japan. No indemnity was paid, and Japan was forced to evacuate Manchuria, in spite of her victories. But she got Port Arthur and Dalny as the proceeds of war. For the first time Japan acquired a permanent grip on the mainland of Asia. Herein lies history. Korea became a sphere of Japanese influence. Japan immediately began to grow cotton there on a very large scale. The Peace of Portsmouth was signed in August of 1905, putting Korea under Japanese control and by the end of the same year cotton had already been planted by the Japanese. On 22nd August, 1910, Japan annexed Korea and even changed the name of the country to Chosen. Thus a land of over a hundred and thirty thousand square miles, containing over seventeen million inhabitants, of great mineral wealth, the subsoil of which produces gold, silver, iron and coal in great quantities, became part and parcel of the Japanese Empire with scarcely a word of protest from any of the great Powers. They were too busy preparing for their own troubles, which were soon to follow, without having to worry over what was happening in the Far East. And so history was made. Japan was firmly settled on the mainland of Asia. The first of

her imperial ambitions had been successfully achieved. The right jaw of the grips had been solidly embedded in Asian territory. It was later to be supplemented by the Japanese protection over Manchuria, whose name was also changed to Manchukuo. So far, so good. What is to be Japan's next move and where is it going to lead?

In 1908 there was talk of war between the United States and Japan on account of the discriminatory treatment that was meted out to the Japanese immigrants as compared with immigrants from European countries. The trouble was smoothed over for the time being, but even sensible people have been talking openly of the possibility of a war between Japan and America ever since.

Now, a war can never be localized. The effects of any war, no matter how distant it may be, always make themselves felt even to the farthest corners of the earth; and no matter how conclusive a campaign may seem, it prepares the way for another war which in its turn is preparing the way for another one. No war could possibly appear to be more circumscribed to China and Japan than the Sino-Japanese conflict which ended with the Peace of Shimonoseki, in 1895. Nevertheless, every war since then has sprung in part from some of the seeds which that campaign has strewn. It was Russia who insisted on the proclamation of the independence of Korea after that war. It was the interference of Russia in Korea that produced the Russo-Japanese war. If Japan had not given China such a licking there probably would have been no British alliance with Japan. The British alliance with Japan was brought about to weaken Russia in Asia and to lessen the Russian pressure on the India frontier, which it did. The defeat of the Russians in the Far East brought to a head the Russian revolution of 1905. From that time forward Russia had become harmless, as far as Britain was concerned, so much so that we were able to enter into what amounted to an alliance with Russia in 1908. If Russia had not had England and France as Allies it is quite possible that she would have been a little more circumspect in

proclaiming herself the Paladin of the Pan-Slav movement. If the small Slav states had not had the backing of Russia the probability is that there would have been no Balkan war of 1912. If there had been no Balkan war, it is quite possible that the Kronprinz of Austria, Franz Ferdinand, would not have considered it necessary to have had the great Austro-Hungarian manœuvres of 1914 culminate in Sarajevo. If Franz Ferdinand had not gone to Sarajevo history might have been different.

So that not only is the old saying that "every war sows the seeds of the next war" quite true, but it is impossible to limit the effects of a war to any given extension. Whoever could have thought that the Sino-Japanese war of 1895 could have had such far-reaching effects with the course of time. But this delineation of events is only one part of the picture. There is no way of measuring the full effects of any war, no matter how remote, on the rest of the world. Whoever would have associated the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in 1914 with the Russo-Japanese war of 1904 or the Sino-Japanese war ten years before that, and yet events follow those conflicts as logically as it is possible to imagine. No war can be localized; neutrals are affected by it against their wills. But in the case of Japan it is not merely a case of not being able to localize a war, it is a fact that Japan has moved forward along a path confined by a carefully preconceived chain of events. Japan's progress has not been due to the chance-effects of warfare, but to following carefully prepared plans based on accurate foresight of the after-effects of warfare. In this respect the Japanese have shown a cunning and patience undreamt of in the West. They have never bitten off more than they could chew and they have always waited for the right moment to deal their next blow, and infinite pains have always been taken to prepare the ground properly before delivering that blow. So, step by step, Japan has moved onwards towards her destiny, but always making sure of her ground before she took the next step.

The trouble with the United States in 1908 was never meant to produce a war, as far as Japan was concerned.

It was just Japan's way of preparing for the maturity of the plans she had up her sleeve. It was meant to instil in the coming generations of Japanese the conviction that a conflict with America must come sooner or later and to develop in the nation the antagonism necessary to make a war with the United States popular. The United States' laws with regard to the Japanese, at that time—around 1908—were no more onerous than the laws in parts of our own Empire. Yet no complaints were made about the discrimination against the Japanese in Australia. It was not policy then to arouse any feeling against Britain. One thing at a time. There was still a use for the friendship of the British. It would be suicide to go out and openly court the antagonism of the British Empire and thus throw Britain into America's arms. Obviously this was the very thing to be avoided. There was a great question to be settled first with America alone, and it would take a long time and a lot of patience to prepare for the great struggle to come. In the meantime the Japanese people could be worked up to a fervour of patriotism in their feeling against America. America was to be Japan's natural enemy.

In 1914 the German Empire challenged the might of Britain. Another nice, easy, little war for Japan. By bad diplomacy and a megalomaniac foreign policy, Germany had surrounded herself with enemies. She and her allies had to face almost the whole of the world. Japan captured Tsing-tao and Kiaochow without much effort. But still, it constituted her third great victory. By the Treaty of Versailles she was not only awarded these two nice little titbits, but a share in the islands as well. Just one more little link in the chain. So that Japan now has the Yellow Sea all to herself. Britain still possesses Wei-hai-wei, but what good is it. History is being made. Japan has nothing more to worry about regarding the grip she has secured with the right hand or northern jaw of her pincers. What next?

When the Powers intervened after the Peace of Shimono-Seki—in 1895—it was remarked on that although it was not so very difficult to get Japan to renounce the

occupation of Korea, she remained obdurate when it came to giving up Formosa. Not all the Great Powers assembled could get Japan to agree to the evacuation of Formosa. The war was about Korea and fought out in Korea; Korea was proclaimed by Japan to be a danger to her very existence. Yet when it came to a final decision she agreed to the evacuation of Korea, which was at her very doors, but obstinately refused even to listen to any terms about evacuating Formosa, although Formosa is over five hundred miles away from Japan. The unyielding attitude was successful, and Formosa became Japanese. Formosa was to be the great stepping-stone in the imperialist plans of Japan.

We cannot alter the past; we have to decide about the future. We have to face up to facts as they are, while there is still time. There is great danger ahead! This brings us to the real cause of Japan's antagonism to the United States. The future war between Japan and America is not going to be caused by the question of Japanese immigration into California or American trade in China. Either may be the excuse, but neither will be the cause.

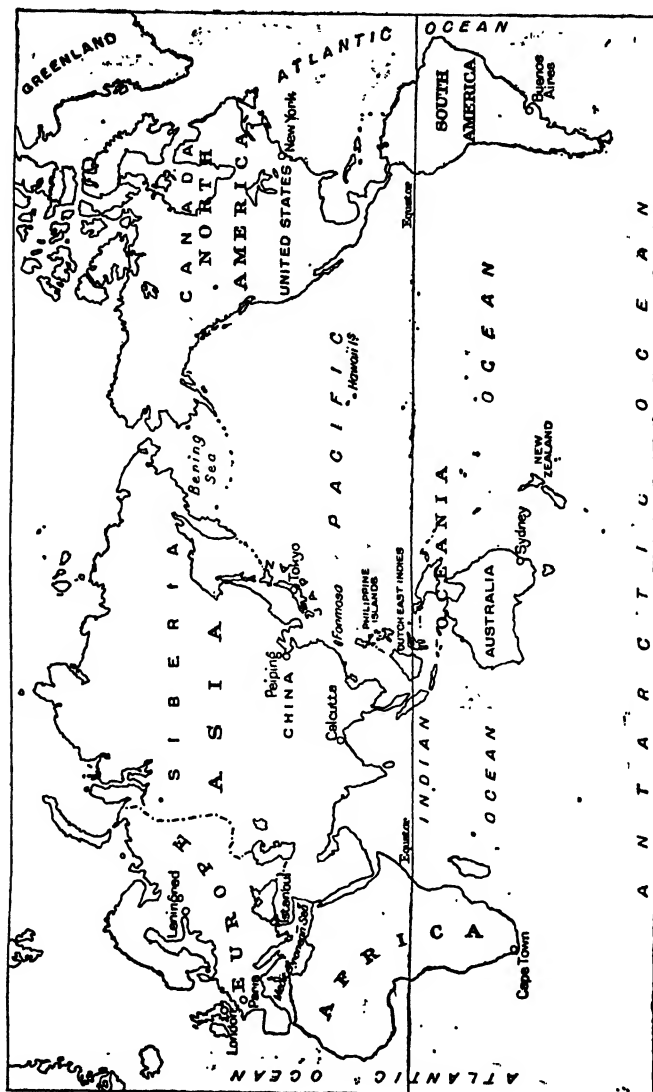
Japan will pick the excuse. Japan has never failed to pick the right time, and when the right time comes, she will declare war. For the present Japan is very careful to keep the anti-American feeling simmering; that is the way Japan goes to work. There are going to be several minor incidents before the right time comes. The anti-American feeling in Japan has already produced its repercussion in America. That was bound to happen. There is as much anti-Japanese feeling in the States to-day, as there is anti-American feeling in Japan. There are bound to be several unpleasant incidents in the *interim*. By the time the Japanese Government are ready to strike, the Japanese people will be worked up to a fever-heat of enthusiasm for a war with the United States. By that time also, probably, the Americans will be aching for a scrap.

It is painful to hear how the majority of people envisage a war between Japan and America. The usual

opinion expressed is that as the discipline of the American fleet is very lax that it will be a walk-over as far as Japan is concerned. Also, you hear strange rumours about an alliance between Japan and Mexico in the case of a Nippon-American conflict. That is to say, that immediately after the hypothetical great Japanese naval victory a Japanese army is to be landed in Mexico and in co-operation with the Mexican forces to cross the United States borderline and march on Los Angeles, San Francisco or wherever it is that they are destined to meet the American army that will be rushed to attack them in defence of hearth and home.

Really, it is surprising how even sensible people, English, foreign and American, talk rubbish when discussing the Jap-American situation. You only have to look at a map to see how preposterous the whole suggestion of a major naval action is, not to speak of any attempt at a landing. Unfortunately, ninety per cent of the geographical maps are printed with the British Isles as the centre of the world-scheme, so that relatively few people have any idea of the configuration of the Pacific Ocean at all, and it will be in the Pacific Ocean that any trouble between Japan and America will have to be settled. There is almost double the mileage between Japan and America that there is between the British Isles and America, and the distance between the British Isles and America is so great as to make any major naval action in the Atlantic beyond the range of possibility. What nation, in its right senses, is going to risk its fleet by allowing its navy to join action with an enemy well over four thousand miles away from its base. The very idea is absolutely absurd. How much more absurd would it be, then, for Japan to venture into American waters to attack the main American fleet, or for the Americans to risk a major action thousands of miles away from their home waters. Even if we assume the possibility of the Americans being so sure of themselves as to think it worth the risk, and suppose we go still further in the realm of absurdity and imagine an American victory over the Japanese, what are the Americans going

to do then? Do they expect to be able to land an army in Japan and after a successful land campaign to dictate



JAPAN, U.S.A. AND THE PACIFIC

peace terms in Tokio? Do they expect the Japanese to keep quiet while their transports come over and land their troops on Japanese soil? Do they hope that the

Japanese will be so kind as not to mine every possible inch of their waters? Do they expect the Japanese submarines to remain snugly tucked away in dock? And, supposing we accept all this as possible, how many millions of soldiers will the Americans have to land to subdue the Japanese armies who are defending their soil?

The Japanese Empire, including Manchukuo, to-day numbers well over 100,000,000 inhabitants. That is far more than the white population of the United States itself, and nearly double the number of whites who are U.S. citizens by birth. After all, the only people that America can absolutely depend upon, in case of active warfare with Japan, are the true-born American inhabitants. The Japanese are untiring soldiers, patriotic and used to the hard life of military training. In case of an invasion every available man, woman and child will help, in some form or other, in the defence of their soil, and how many millions of soldiers will America require to carry out that campaign. The same argument applies to Japan as invader, with the difference that America will then be able to count on practically all her inhabitants and not only on the true-born American ones.

In 1899 England declared war on two small South African republics: the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Tiny little republics they were. The two together only contained about half a million white inhabitants, and only whites fought in the war against us. We had almost every advantage on our side, from a transport point of view. Our navy was not only the strongest in the world, but stronger than any two of the next strongest put together. We had a merchant fleet larger than all the rest of the world put together. We had tremendous arsenals, one of the largest armament industries, overflowing patriotic enthusiasm at home, a world-wide Empire on which to draw for soldiers, food and horses, stores and equipment; limitless wealth and the seas kept open by our navies from one end of the world to the other. Hardly a man was killed or a horse lost in transport. There were no mines and no submarines to contend with.

The two Boer republics could receive no help from outside, except sympathy. Their heavy artillery was no match for ours, nor could their supplies or means of communication compare with ours. We had the additional advantage that we did not require to land our troops on enemy territory, because these two tiny little republics were practically surrounded by British Colonies who were fighting on our side against the Boers. Yet it took us over two years and a half of bitter warfare before we could make peace with the South African republics; over three hundred thousand men and two hundred thousand horses were required. Our losses amounted to over thirty thousand men. And that was the mightiest Empire in the world at war with nearly the smallest nations on the planet. You see now how absurd a project, how unthinkable is the invasion with the idea of conquest of either Japan or the U.S.A. by the other. When these two nations ultimately go to war serious invasion will not figure in the plans of either combatant.

The excuse for the South African war was the killing of an Englishman by the name of Edgar just as, fifteen years later, the killing of an Austrian by the name of Franz Ferdinand, was the excuse for another little affray that has not really been settled yet. But these were only the excuses, not the causes. The peoples, on both occasions, were so worked up to scrap pitch, that any other excuse could have been used; but a killing is always the most suitable pretext, if it happens to be convenient. It gets the right spirit properly into swing and that is very important when declaring war on anybody.

It is really surprising how important a thing "honour" is when you want a war, and how you must protect even the measliest of your citizens when it serves your purpose to do so. Of all the forty-five million inhabitants of Great Britain, does one of them know who Edgar was? Yet his death was the excuse for killing about thirty thousand of his countrymen. Would his death have had the importance it did if gold and diamonds had not been discovered in the Boer republics?

No, when hostilities break out between America and Japan, the Japanese will probably limit themselves to investing the Philippines. That is all they want a war for . . . for the moment. The capture of the Philippines in all probability, will be the end of the Nippon-American war. If America wants to keep them, let her come over and take them. It is only about four thousand miles or so away. Japan will just sit tight on her new acquisition and wait for all comers. She will have got all she wanted the war for, and that's all she will worry about.

In the meantime America seems to have been preparing to meet the situation. It is generally supposed that she intends to evacuate the Philippines round about 1940, leaving them to govern themselves as and how they like ; but it is very questionable if America wants to do so out of pure generosity towards the islanders. It is much more likely that she is planning evacuation purely and simply because she knows that she cannot hold the Philippines in a war with Japan, and as this is apparently the only reason for a war between herself and Japan she is anxious to avoid the clash with as good a grace as possible. A move is being made in this direction and it is a fact that the United States have now decided to start fortifying their islands in the Pacific Ocean : the Aleutians, Guam, Wake and Midway. Work is to be started early in the year 1937. In the words of the Secretary of the American navy, Swanson,¹ this is being done on the assumption that the Philippines are to become independent. Next month, October, 1935, the United States is sending a congressional delegation, under Vice-President Garner, to open the new Commonwealth Government in the Philippines. Japan has already denounced the Washington Treaty² on the present basis

¹ Washington, 1st August, 1935. Also correspondence between Follick and Navy Department, Office of Naval Intelligence, Washington, August and September, 1935.

² Japan's reply to British Government that she maintains her stand for equality with other World Powers (28th August, 1935).

and demands equality of tonnage.¹ In the meantime she has commenced fortifying her mandated islands in the Pacific as naval bases.²

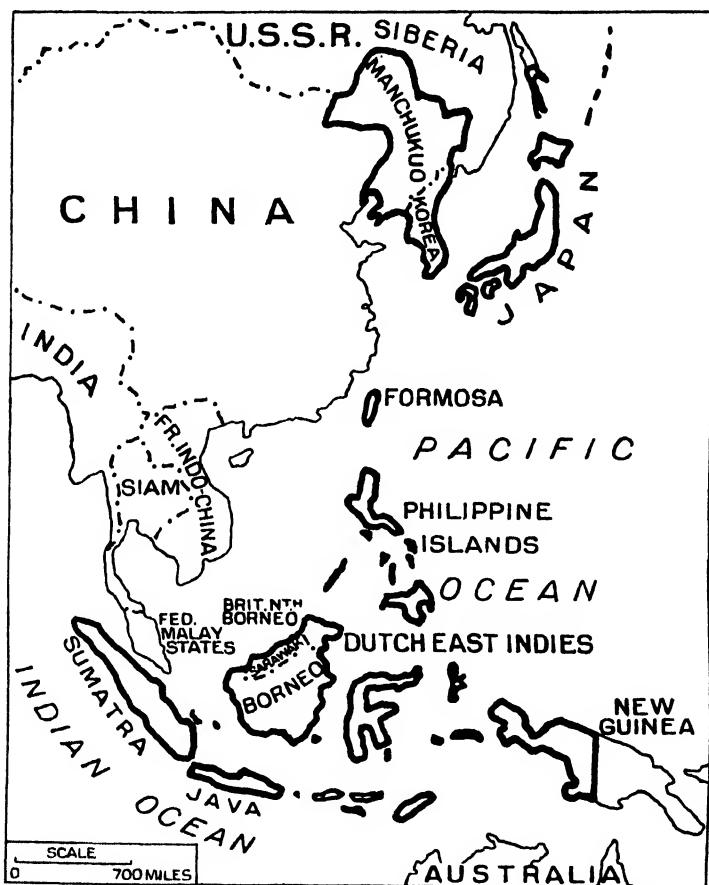
Once America is out of the Philippines, Japan will soon find some excuse or other for landing a detachment of soldiers on one of the islands. There has already—in 1921—been some little disturbance in the provinces of Jolo, Moro, Lanao and Cotabo. This trouble may or may not have been fomented by the Japanese. But it certainly would suit their plans to have a little trouble in the Philippines every now and again, so that they can have some plausible excuse, when the right time comes, of asking for the approval of the rest of the world when they land in Manila to restore order. Restoring order was the pretext in Korea in 1904 and in Manchukuo last year, 1934. Japan formally annexed Korea in 1910, and she will, probably, formally annex Manchukuo in a few years. Then it will be time to do something about those troublesome inhabitants in the Philippine Archipelago, who must be taught to respect law and order, just as the Koreans and the people of Manchukuo have been taught to respect it. There are plenty of Japanese living on the islands whose property and persons will have to be protected, when the time comes, by an ever-vigilant Mother Country.

But can Great Britain afford to allow the Japanese to step in and calmly take possession of the Philippines? Can we even allow the American people to renounce their tutelage of probably the most important key-point there is in the world at this present era of history? Has it ever been seriously considered what will happen if Japan gets possession of these islands of such vital strategic importance? Surely it does not take a great politician to understand the reason why the whole trend of Japanese

¹ The Washington Treaty made in 1922 imposes the "5-5-3" ratio between Britain, U.S. and Japan. Britain and U.S. each have five ships for every three allowed to Japan. The London Treaty of 1930 laid down scales of tonnage.

² Dr. Lange, Norwegian delegate, in the Political Committee of the League Assembly. Geneva, 18th September, 1935.

expansion must be towards the Philippines! Once the Japanese are firmly established in the Philippine Archipelago the whole of Western civilization is doomed. The danger-point is not actually the Philippines but the



THE GRIPS

Dutch colonies of Borneo, Guinea, Java and Sumatra. Once the Japanese have settled themselves firmly in the Philippines there is no power on earth that can prevent them seizing the Dutch East Indies on some pretext or other. The Dutch themselves will be able to do nothing.

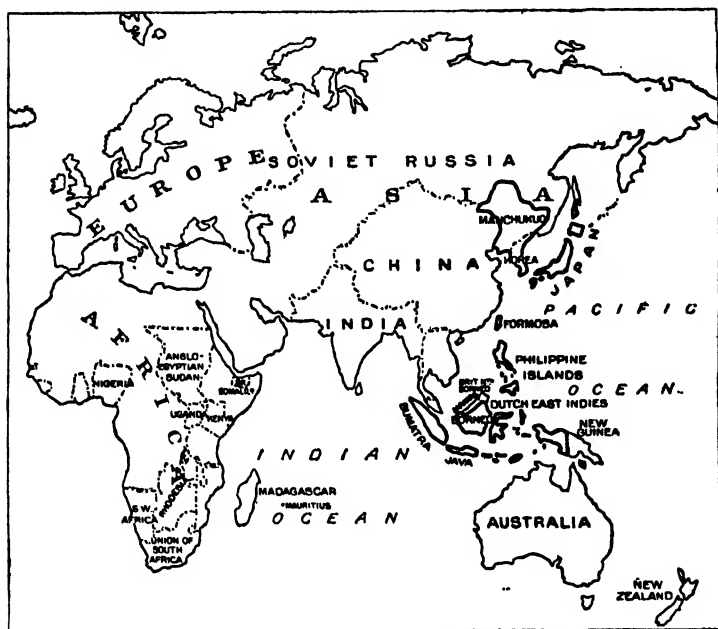
It is not a bit of good burying our heads in the sand.

We can never allow the Dutch East Indies to fall into the hands of the Japanese. As the Dutch themselves will not be able to defend their possessions the defence will have to be undertaken by an alliance of Powers in co-operation with the League of Nations.

Why, you may ask, are we going to go to war about another nation in whom we have not the slightest interest and who, in reality, are great trade rivals of ours? It is not a question of another nation or a trade rival, it is a question of our very existence and the future of practically every other Western nation in the world. Once Japan has seized the Dutch Indies she will not only have the whole of China in her grasp but she will be able to threaten Australia and India. Manchukuo and Japan proper will form the northern jaw of the grips, Formosa will be the axis and the Philippines and the Dutch Indies will complete the southern jaw. China will be powerless to move. Singapore will be as hopelessly out-flanked by Sumatra as that once powerful base of Weihai-wei has been by the Japanese occupation of Kiaochow and Tsingtao. The Chinese population of nearly four hundred and fifty million souls will be at the mercy of the Japanese. The Japanese Empire proper, as one might call it, by the time the plan reaches completion will have reached a figure of not less than one hundred and fifty million inhabitants, and will control a territory containing over six hundred million inhabitants. The whole scheme seems fantastic, but it is stark, staring possibility—probability even. The number of years that it would take Japan to develop such a colossal empire would be the number of years that Western civilization still had to exist; and Western civilization includes America.

An empire of six hundred millions, such as this giant Japanese Empire would be, well-drilled, well-developed, well-industrialized, would be capable of almost any expansion. On account of its great size and paucity of population Australia would be the first territory to be absorbed. It would provide a sort of blood-let for the teeming millions of Asia. Australia could easily digest

a hundred million inhabitants. Confronted by a Japanized Australia on the one side and a Japanized China on the other, India would soon fall a prey to gradual if not rapid absorption. A thousand million people massed under one flag! Could anything be more fantastic, and yet that is what it means. With the strength of those tremendous armies behind her Japan could force her way right into Europe as the hosts of the redoubtable



THE THREAT TO INDIA AND AUSTRALIA

Jenghiz Khan had done, and right into Africa like the armies of the mighty Arab conquerors. This empire of the Japanese could be in control of the whole of Europe, Asia and Africa before the present century was out.

In assessing the possibility or probability of this scheme of conquest it must be remembered that the Japanese Empire up to date has developed on lines no less rapid than my projection of its future expansion. In 1853 a small, unimportant people that had not the slightest inkling of what was happening in the rest of the world,

that had no knowledge of mechanized civilization, that possessed no firearms, had by 1933 placed herself in the position to declare war, if she liked, on the two strongest nations in the world and beat them together in her own waters. When she wanted to invade Manchukuo she did so, in spite of the combined protests of the whole world. Japan has made this tremendous stride in eighty years. With such power behind her and the use of modern aids to development undreamt of before the War there is no knowing how far she can go in the next sixty years.

Look back on the history of the past two hundred years and see if my forecast of Japan's aims is in the least fantastic or absurd. At the beginning of the Eighteenth Century England had, with the exception of the American colonies, hardly a colonial possession worth speaking about. The inhabitants of Great Britain totalled about fifteen millions. We were a small people, badly disciplined and organized as compared with other nations of the time, not particularly progressive, very unsettled in our home affairs, continually at war abroad, and occasionally at home, not very decided about what sort of government or monarch we wanted to be ruled by, and yet between the end of the first decade after the "Forty-five" and 1810 we added the majority of our greatest dominions to our flag. In those sixty-odd years we acquired possession of India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and established ourselves in South Africa. It was no question of easy campaigns like the Japanese victories over China, Russia and Germany; our forces were engaged practically the whole time against the most formidable foes in the world, and had to hold in check one of the greatest conquerors of all times, whom five years later we completely crushed. Not only were we engaged in fighting some of the finest armies the world had ever produced but we had to face a revolution in the most advanced of our colonies, which not only drained our financial resources but depleted a large part of our army and navy. Not a bad job of work, you may say, for sixty years. We acquired three mighty dominions—India, Canada and Australia, the first two by force of

arms—all within ten years. In 1761, after the Battle of Wandewash, Britain became the undisputed mistress of India. In 1763, some four years after Wolfe's victory, Canada was ceded to Britain by the Treaty of Paris, and in 1770 Captain Cook planted the British flag in Australia, after sailing from the extreme south—what is now called Flinder's Isle—to the extreme north—now called Cape York. That was all done by our pioneers in ten years. In India and Canada they had to fight their way against frightful odds, every inch of the way disputed by powerful enemies ; and at home we were engaged in every possible sort of dispute and quarrel, and were financially exhausted to boot. When you have the men with will and purpose there is no limit to what a nation can achieve.

All this was done in those far-off days when steam was used only for pumping water, when electricity had not been put to practical purposes, when no means existed of rapid training and organization of nations, when that most powerful of weapons, mass-psychology, guided scientifically had not even been envisaged. It was done with old sailing hulks, badly equipped crews, hungry regiments badly armed, fighting mostly against impossible odds. And yet the greater part of our Empire was won in ten years.

Compare that condition of things with the advantages that Japan enjoys to-day. She is a nation of over a hundred million souls, developed by the finest system of military training and inspired with enthusiasm by the scientific guidance of mass-psychology, armed as strongly and as thoroughly as the most redoubtable forces in the world, a nation who has gained three easy, although tremendously profitable, victories within thirty years, who has humbled two of the greatest nations of the European continent, who, in the matter of Manchukuo only the other day, snapped her fingers at the whole of Europe. If we could do what we did do, under the conditions we did them, in the short space of ten years, cannot you imagine what the Japanese will be capable of doing, under their conditions, by the end of the century ?

But there must be no question of any aggressive policy towards Japan. That would be madness ! What we have to agree on is our plan of action should Japan make any move that may lead up to the occupation of the Dutch Indies with her troops. Having assured ourselves of the possibility of such a move and how necessary such a move actually is in the prosecution of a military occupation of China by Japan, it is up to us to come to a decision while there is still time, and not to wait, for a *fait accompli* as in the cases of Korea and Manchukuo. In twenty years' time it will be too late. In ten years, time will be getting short. It is time now, within the next few years, to explore the ground and come to a definite decision on the policy that will stand most chance of being successful in case of necessity. Something similar to the planning which took place in Europe between 1904 and 1914.

At the beginning of the century, on account of our attack on the Boer republics, we were hated by nearly every nation in Europe. No nation was ever so hated as Britain was at the time of the Boer War. The only nations who showed us any friendship at all were Italy and Greece. Italy was still grateful to us for having helped Garibaldi to unite Italy by carrying the famous thousand from Quarto to Marsala. Garibaldi, thanks to the assurance given by Sir James Hudson of the sympathy of England, was able to embark on his expedition. He landed his famous Legion under the protection of the British vessels *Intrepid* and *Argus*. The Greeks still remembered how Byron died for Greece's freedom, how Gladstone had returned the Ionian Isles to them, after having been lost to Greece for over two thousand five hundred years. But apart from these two not very important nations, the rest of Europe hated us like poison. We can see how venomous that hatred must have been when there was actually a *rapprochement* between Germany and France with a view to interfering in Britain's predatory designs ! However, by 1904, two years after the signing of the Peace of Vereeniging which put an end to the Boer war, we were able to conclude what practically amounted to an alliance with France :

the *Entente Cordiale*. With the France who was our bitterest enemy only a couple of years previously. Four years later, in 1908, our arch-enemy, Russia, became a third partner with us in the *Entente Cordiale*, because we all three understood that we were menaced by a very great and imminent danger. We therefore had to forget about our own personal quarrels and prepare ourselves to face a common peril. In those days we had a master-diplomat at our service in the person of Edward VII. If this master-diplomat had not existed, what would be the shape of the map of Europe to-day? We had to checkmate the ambition of a megalomaniac Emperor in possession of the most powerful military machine ever known, who was prepared to take almost any chances to satisfy his craving for glory.

If England had adopted a decided attitude in July of 1914, there is every probability that the Germans would have backed out just as they did on the two previous occasions when they thought they would try their hand : at the time of the Algeciras Conference and again in 1911 over the Agadir question. In fact, our wavering and hesitation in coming to a decision as to what our action should be in 1914, is put down, in the higher German diplomatic circles, to the double-facedness of British Foreign Policy. They state that Britain wanted war and knew that if she came boldly out in support of the Triple Entente, Germany would back out again and once more slip through her fingers. This hesitant attitude of ours led the German High Command to believe that they were on an easy thing and that once their armies were on the path to victory Britain would declare for neutrality to save her face. But if our attitude had been clearly stated by Sir Edward Grey and the British Parliament, there would probably have been no war.

There is an even greater danger ahead now than ever there was in 1914. Are we prepared to sink our private prejudices and come to a decision about what steps we are going to take in face of this danger? Are we going to get down to brass tacks right away as we did in King Edward's day, or are we going to let matters slide until

it gets too late, as in 1914. It is no good looking round for a leader such as we had then, because there is no single individual who possesses the diplomatic skill or the confidence that Edward VII enjoyed. It will be a matter of studying the facts carefully and acting upon them. It must be clearly understood that there are no two nations in the world to-day who are strong enough to bar the way to Japan's gradual absorption of China via the Philippines and the Dutch Indies. It is a matter for the League of Nations to decide before it becomes too late, but the League must know that it can rely unfailingly on sufficient support to back its authority.

A half-decided, hesitant step—as in the case of Manchukuo—is worse than useless: it is even harmful. The League must be prepared to bar the way to any aggressive policy of Japan. If the three nations most concerned, Great Britain, Russia and the United States, are prepared to come to the League's aid with the whole of their forces and present a united front to the common danger it would make Japan think twice before proceeding. Russia, by herself is in a more hopeless condition, as opposed to Japan, than she was in 1904. The Trans-Siberian Railway is no better than it was then. Her troops could not be moved any more rapidly to the sphere of action than they could in 1904. The enthusiasm of her soldiers and the equipment of her army is much better than it was then, but Russia's means of sea-communication are even worse than in 1904, whereas Japan has improved in every way, including her strategical position. No! Russia alone would be a poor match for Japan. She would fall a far easier victim than she did in her last war in the Far East. But no alliance against Japan's warlike intentions can be successful without the co-operation of Russia, because Russia is the only other nation in the Pacific who can put anything like a large military force into the field.

Besides that, Tokio can be threatened by air from Vladivostok, and it is well known that the Japanese are very poor airmen. It must be quite understood that it is not a question of attacking Japan, but of forming a defensive alliance against any military ambitions of

Japan. Such alliance must be of such a nature that Japan will see that we are determined not to tolerate any aspirations of an aggressive military character which will lead to her hegemony in Asia, on the lines laid down by the Kaiser William II in planning a German hegemony in Europe.

Germany a few years before the War and Japan to-day almost form a parallel. The German nation was worked up to such a pitch of confidence in their superiority in every sphere of life that they firmly believed that it was their destiny to subdue the rest of the world. The Japanese are operating along the same lines, and as long as there is no opposition to these tactics they will proceed in the future along the path they have been treading for the last ten years. They flouted the League of Nations, because the League of Nations was weak, but it is very questionable if they would flout a League of Nations backed up by a determined defensive alliance composed of the British Empire, the United States and Russia. Moreover, when China sees that the League of Nations is something more than a name she will be encouraged to put up some sort of resistance to the clutching claws of the Japanese phalanxes. China may only be a motley mass of seething humanity, but it must not be forgotten that her population numbers over four hundred and fifty millions. They would be an easy prey to highly organized Japan, defenceless, starving and broken-up as they are, but they would be able to keep the Japanese busy until the Russians arrived if they knew that the Russians were on the way; just as the Russians, in the beginning of the Great War, badly-officered, badly-equipped and badly-led, kept the Germans busy until the British were able to equip and train their new armies. And the Chinese hate the Japanese, as they have every right to, seeing how the Japanese have treated them.

If we go on as we are going, sooner or later war will be inevitable. If Japan understands that we are determined to support the League of Nations in protecting the interests of the practically defenceless nations in the Far East, she will certainly adopt a more reasonable

attitude. Once the predatory ambitions of Japan have been definitely abandoned, the Japanese people themselves will see the futility of spending money on military preparations for a hegemony that they will never be allowed to attain and, in the course of time, if they have any sense at all, and they are supposed to be a very sensible, logical people, they will resign themselves to living in harmony with the rest of the world and applying their great gifts and talents to the development of civilization and not to the contemplated building-up of an all-powerful Japanese Empire, at the expense of so many other nations.

But in this great determination of ours to protect freedom and democracy from violent destruction, do not let us forget the position of India and what India will mean to us when the time comes, if the time ever does come. Twice India has come forward in our hour of need to help us with men and money. When we were engaged in the life and death struggle, if India had turned hostile, it might have been a stab in the back which might have made all the difference to the outcome of the Great War. As it was, it was the Indian army corps that saved the British Empire in 1914.¹ India's part in this other question is one that should give us every reason to ponder. The rôle that India will be called upon to play will be a very decisive one. You only have to glance at the map to see that. When the time comes it is up to us to see that we shall have a free and well-disposed India to stand by our side in the great test. The old India, of the boycott days, can as easily turn against us as not. We have to see that India is proud of the fact that she is able to help in

¹ In the words of Lord Birkenhead : "The Indian Army Corps, as surely as the Expeditionary Force, and with as terrible a toll of life, saved the British Empire by blocking the first terrific German assault in the late autumn of 1914. The Indians landed in France at a moment when the resilience of the British Army, ground down by heavier forces and superior artillery, had almost collapsed. The Indian Corps were at that moment the only regular troops mobilised and available in the Empire." *Frederick Edwin Earl of Birkenhead. The Last Phase.* Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London.

maintaining freedom and democracy for the world, so that it will be folly to go on with our present tactics of only grudgingly giving the inhabitants of India every little progress that ought to be theirs. Let us be great-hearted with India ; let us help to make India strong and powerful. Let us look upon the Indians as our allies and not as our servants. Let us try to get used to the idea that the Indian carpenter is as good a man as the English carpenter, that the Indian mason is as good as the English mason, that the Indian engineer is as good as the English engineer, that the Indian artist is as good as the English artist, and that there is no reason why Indian statesmen should not be trained to look after their own affairs and the welfare of their great peninsula, in the same way as English statesmen do. If both the English and the Indians can be persuaded to adopt that attitude, then democracy will even be worth fighting for. But if the Indians are made to feel that it makes no difference to them who their taskmasters are, whether they are British or Japanese, the danger they would be to our Empire is incalculable. It is up to us to see that India is happy to form part of that federation of free nations known as the British Empire, so that we may be able to look upon the Indians as our brothers in maintaining the freedom of those nations. In that spirit India will be an invaluable ally when the time comes to ask her for her help.

The Great Minority Question

BEFORE going into the question of the Minorities, we have to understand exactly what a minority really is. To the average Briton a minority is just a few thousand people, or even a few hundreds of thousands of people, who speak a different language from the rest of the State to which they belong. Up to a certain point that is quite right, but the matter goes far deeper than that. If that were all there was to it, it could be soon settled to everybody's satisfaction; but, really, that is only where the question starts. The minority problem is so vast and intricate that it burrows down into the very bowels of the body European, with the most vital bearing on the question of peace or war. To be precise, there can be no peace in Europe until the Minority question is definitely settled one way or other, and any threat of war becomes a hundredfold more menacing while that question remains in its present chaotic state. So, either the Treaty of Trianon is right and should not be altered, or it is wrong, and if so the sooner it is put right the better it will be for the peace of the world and, certainly, for a better understanding amongst the nations of Europe.

There are, for all practical purposes, four different sorts of minorities: Firstly, the Enclave Minority. Secondly, the Split-Enclave Minority. Thirdly, the External Minority and, fourthly, the Internal Minority.

There is no finer example of an Enclave Minority than Wales. Very few people ever stop to think that Wales is a minority, but just look upon the Principality as a part of England, which it is not in any shape or form. There is more actual difference between the English and the Welsh than there is between the English and practic-

ally any other people of Europe excepting, perhaps, such Mongol races as the Hungarians, the Finns or the Turks. The Welsh or, to give them their right name, the Primitive Britons are a pre-Aryan race whose origin is of the obscurest. So obscure, in fact, as to date back to the very dimness where the first knowledge of the human race begins. They were subdued by the Celts and then finally driven into the Welsh mountain fastnesses by the Saxons. The English are a relatively modern people, being a mixture of Anglo-Saxons and Normans. The Welsh language is more remote from the English than even the Russian. In fact there is nothing in common between the English and the Welsh except that they belong to the same kingdom, and that the Welsh speak English, although the English never speak Welsh.

Wales could be entirely self-supporting. England never could be. The Welsh have sufficient agriculture, or could have, to support the whole of their people. The Welsh number about two and a quarter millions all told. Welsh mutton and Caerphilly cheese, are names that used to be household words in Wales. Welsh dairy farming was formerly second to none. The Welsh have even carried their dairy farming skill to America and Australia. The coal mines of Wales are world-famous. As well are the Welsh tin-plate industry and shipbuilding. Welsh pottery once upon a time used to supply the markets of England and Ireland. Welsh flannel used to be the finest flannel ever made. The English require the whole world to live upon. There is no nation in the world less self-supporting than England, whereas Wales has no absolute need to import anything from anybody. England could be starved out in a couple of months, Wales need have no fears. Yet the Welsh are the staunchest supporters that England has. Wales does not want to be separated from England, although there is no ethnographical link between the two peoples. Wales recognizes that these islands should form one entity and she does her bit to maintain that entity.

England has not always been as fair to Wales as she might have been, but there is still time to make amends

and recognize that Wales is not a part of England, but a part of Britain, and the Welsh are a race entirely different from the English. The Welsh should also remember this fact as well. A good many prominent Welshmen seem to forget it. Every Welshman should see to it that his children speak Welsh and be proud of it. The Welsh schools should not only teach in Welsh but also teach Welsh history and Welsh epics, in which the Welsh history is not wanting. The language of the University of Wales should be Welsh and not English. Wales should be Welsh, for the glory of Wales. But that does not mean to say that Wales wants any sort of separation from England. Wales wants to work with England, not as a part of England, but as a part of Britain, for the advantage of the whole ; but Wales does not want to lose, and should not lose, any of its characteristics. There is no reason why Wales should not retain all its Welshness and still play its part in the development of Britain. In fact, if the Welshness of Wales is given full play, it should be to the benefit, and not the disadvantage of the British. It would add something to what is becoming an all too dreary, monotonous English atmosphere.

Wales is really the perfect model of a contented minority. Welshmen sit in Parliament for English constituencies and Englishmen for Welsh constituencies. Such a thing would be absolutely impossible in the countries where the minority question is raging. At least one Welshman, in the gravest moment of history, led the British Empire to safety.¹ Welsh officers have commanded English troops and English officers have been in charge of Welsh regiments. A descendant of Wales started a Scout movement in England that spread not only through the Empire but throughout the world.² The Welsh are such a perfectly behaved minority that the English do not look upon them as people of a different race and language, but almost as if they were Anglo-Saxons, and the Welsh, sometimes, are apt to forget that they are Welsh too. Wales is a sample of what is known as an Enclave Minority. She is surrounded by

¹ David Lloyd George.

² Baden-Powell.

the absorbing English on all sides, except the side where is the sea.

Somewhat akin to the Welsh as a minority are the Catalans. But their positions, *vis-à-vis* their neighbouring fellow-citizens, are different. Catalonia is a highly industrialized part of the Iberian peninsula. As a separate entity in Spain, Catalonia would have to become an agricultural nation even to exist. Catalonia is an industrial area, thanks to the rest of Spain which absorbs and protects the Catalonian products. In this it is different from Wales. Wales exports her tinplate, her ship-building and her coal, not to England but to the rest of the world. The Welsh are not parasites living on England. The Catalonians *are* parasites living on the rest of Spain, and they should behave themselves better.

The best example of a Split-Enclave is that tiny little race of people called the Basques. A nice little people are the Basques: intelligent, wonderful mechanics, great artists, a credit to any nation. They live on the slopes of the Pyrenees mountains and in the neighbouring country. The great majority of them live in Spain. They speak a language entirely their own. No historian can tell where their race comes from. They have given one tremendous son to the world: Ignatius Loyola. Like the Welsh they could be self-supporting. Like the Welsh they are good citizens of the countries to which they belong. The Spanish Basques are the best Spaniards in almost every sense of the word. The French Basques have saved their country more than once. Their country is France. There is no separatist movement either on the French side or the Spanish side, as far as the Basques are concerned; there is not even a movement for unifying the two groups. Yet they are a very important minority—when added together. Quite as important as some of those minorities that are causing trouble on the other side of Europe.

The third great category are the External Minorities who are a product of the Great War. The defeated nations are those from whom the principal External Minorities have been separated: Germany, Hungary

and Turkey. Unfortunately they are all products of diplomatic politics, that is to say, politics at their worst, or diplomacy at its best. External Minorities are referred to as Internal when the country within whose frontiers they exist is concerned. They are generally frontier minorities and that is the cause of all the trouble. Before the Great War Germany had as Internal Minorities, principally, a certain number of Poles; about three millions altogether. These were the result of an agreement made in 1772, between Russia, Prussia and Austria about the partition of Poland. Again there was a second partition of Poland in 1793, and yet a third partition in 1795. So that the Poles who were a sovereign nation in 1770, practically ceased to be a nation altogether in 1795. Parts of Poland went to Prussia, parts to Austria and parts to Russia.

Now these Poles, belonging to three different empires, and at no time their own master, lived on the natural frontiers of these three mighty states, all bordering on each other. Touching each other always, in contact with each other never. They formed three Internal Minorities in three different countries: in Germany, in Russia and in Austria. As they always yearned for the day when they would once more become a united independent nation, great Polish patriots arose in the different states, sometimes in Russia, sometimes in Prussia and sometimes in Austria, telling them in their own language that the true allegiance of a Pole is to Poland, or to any other nation that would help to reconstitute the Polish nation as an independent entity. As this patriotism naturally fostered a separatist movement, it was forbidden by the overlords. However, to forbid is one thing, to be obeyed is quite another. Polish patriotism flourished, encouraged by the fact that their master nations were often at war. Oppression followed. The Polish language and the Polish Press were almost obliterated. It came to such a pass that it even became a crime for a mother to speak to her child in Polish. There was to be no such thing as Polish, functionaries, Polish schools or even Polish officials of the lowest rank. Poland was to be abolished.

But history is not always a fairy tale. What is often one nation's poison is another nation's meat. The unrest in Polish territories helped Napoleon in his wars against Prussia and again against Russia. This encouraged the Poles to carry on with their resistance. The revolutionary period in Europe brought also great hopes of a revival of Polish aspirations. Austria relaxed her laws with regard to the Poles; she has so many minorities that she used to play one off against the other, to save her own existence; more or less, but on a smaller scale, as we have been doing with the races and religions in India. In this way the Poles became grateful to Austria and Austria could always count upon a great deal more attachment from her Poles than could either Germany or Russia. This only infuriated the Poles of those countries and fanned the spirit of rebellion both in Prussia and in Russia. More oppressive measures had to be introduced to cope with this new spirit of rebellion. There must be no such thing as Poland in Germany: Poland was a part of Prussia. Polish students flocked to France to study. They would rather study in French of their own free will, than be forced to study in German, because their language was prohibited in the Prussian universities. And, being in France, their already wild fury was added to by French propaganda. So that when Germany went to war in 1914, she had a large boil on the back of her neck: that boil was Poland.

Curiously enough, all the Central Powers had great internal minority troubles to enter the War with: Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey. Whereas the Allied Powers, with the exception of Russia, were singularly free from such encumbrances. Germany not only had her Polish minority, but also a small French minority which gave her more real anxiety even than her far more numerous Poles, a Danish minority and one or two smaller minority questions of scant importance. Thus, with the exception of Britain and America, nearly all the Allies had Exterior Minorities looking to them for relief from their bondage. This relief would have to be carried out at the expense of, principally, Austria-

Hungary and Bulgaria. But while the victorious Powers freed many minorities, they created others. They left the great minority problem more chaotic than it has ever been and this problem is threatening Europe with another war. The tables are now reversed: Germany has no longer an Internal Minority question but, instead, she has some very thorny External Minority difficulties which are going to take a lot of hard reasoning and bold action to solve. Austria has almost faded off the map, and although large sections of pure Germans who were Austrian subjects have been awarded to Czechoslovakia and Italy as the prizes of war, she does not want to be worried with them. Austria's own internal troubles are greater than she can manage. But Germany has not taken it lying down, and says emphatically that these German minorities are her concern, and she is really concerned about them.

Hungary who before the War was more swollen by minorities than any other country in Europe, has now no Internal Minority question of importance, but has turned into the firebrand of the Danube with her External Minority demands. Her claims are principally against what are known as the Successor States: Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Roumania. Before the War, these last two were states with serious External Minority problems; the winning of the War and the ceding of new territories to the conquerors by the vanquished has provided them with Internal Minority anxieties. The instruments by means of which these change-overs took place are called the Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon. These three treaties were signed under duress by nations overcast by the shadows of war, and the horrors of starvation at the behest of victors displaying a hatred and bitterness that blinded every sense of fairness and sane judgment. Hardly had peace been signed when preparations were being made to rectify some of the absurdities caused by the peace settlements. But rectifications are being delayed or made impossible by these very "preparations to rectify." The nations are playing for position. Some nations want these treaties revised, not from any

point of view of justice, but purely from motives of expediency: to suit their own schemes. Others, on the contrary, want to hold the signatory nations to their bond, because that suits their purpose better. Europe is divided into revisionists and anti-revisionists. The revisionists want one, or the other, or all treaties revised, according to what suits them best, according to which process will gain them an ally for the next war, or for overawing a possible future foe. Little attention is paid to the justice or injustice of the treaties themselves; the sole aim is the acquisition of a better square on the international draughts-board. In the meantime the nations concerned are being stirred up by intrigue and diplomacy to keep the pot boiling.

Now, before examining the pros and cons of revisionism and anti-revisionism, it must be clearly understood that there are three distinct treaties under discussion. These three treaties are fraught with two distinct sets of dangers, and their harshness can only be ascribed to the aim of satisfying two quite different sets of ambitions. The Treaty of Versailles was deliberately drawn up so as to reduce the size and power of Germany in such a way as to maim that great nation permanently, and make it easier for France to gain an overpowering military hegemony over the rest of Europe. The Treaties of St. Germain and Trianon were framed to release the Austro-Hungarian Internal Minorities from bondage and allow those liberated peoples to be united to their own nationals, from whom the composition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire kept them separated. That is to say, the people of Roumanian origin, who formerly were part and parcel of Austria-Hungary, became free to unite themselves to Roumania. The Croats, Slovenes and Serbs were allowed to join a greater Serbia. The Czechs and Slovaks were released from Austro-Hungarian domination and formed into the new independent State of Czechoslovakia. The Austrian Poles were joined up with the already re-constituted Polish nation, which the Germans had formed, by adding the parts of Poland wrested from Russia, to Prussian Poland. Some parts of

Prussia, as set out by the Treaty of Versailles, were also given to the new Poland. Finally, Hungary was to be separated from Austria, a thing that so many brave Hungarians had died for, leaving Austria a tiny state on her own, out in the cold. So that what was once the mightiest empire in the world became finally reduced, after four years of warfare and a hundred years of political turmoil, to one of the smallest states of Europe: hopeless, defenceless, moribund.

The question of a revision of the Treaty of Versailles has already been dealt with earlier in this book, in the section devoted to the problem of the "European Mess." It was there shown that all those parts of Europe which are really German, including the greater part of Alsace-Lorraine, should be returned to the German nation as an act of justice, because if this is not done, sooner or later, when she is strong enough, Germany will simply seize them by an act of violence. The Polish Corridor should once more become a German corridor, so as to unite Eastern Prussia to the rest of Germany. It is much better to be generous now, and be sure of the adherence of a grateful German people when the time of the great struggle between the Western nations and Japan arrives, than to have a hating, vengeful Germany eagerly awaiting the moment when the world is engaged in a life and death struggle so as to be able to settle overdue accounts with the victors of the last war. When dealing with the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, one tremendous fact always seems to be overlooked: the average German firmly believes that Germany surrendered in 1918 on account of Wilson's Fourteen Points more than for any other reason. In the U.S. President's far-seeing pronouncement lay the basis of a European settlement for hundreds of years to come. The Germans look upon the subsequent treatment of the Fatherland by the Allies as an act of treachery. They believe that they were tricked. That is the sincere belief held by a very large proportion of the German population, and there is a lot to be said for its truth.

In October of 1918 Wilson declared in the name of the

Allied and Associated Powers that they were ready to take the Fourteen Points as a basis for a treaty of peace on condition that Germany should pay compensation for all damage suffered by the *civilian* population of the occupied territories during the War. Wilson did not lay down any other condition, and he spoke not only for America but for the Allies as well. But, when the German commission arrived to negotiate an armistice, the Allied Commanders informed them that an armistice could only be granted if the left bank of the Rhine was evacuated, all war material left on the ground and all the Allied war prisoners, not the German war prisoners, released. The German troops in the East of Europe were to be withdrawn into the pre-War frontier. Germany agreed, and carried out these conditions. However, after the whole Germany army was disbanded, when the left bank of the Rhine was evacuated, when Alsace-Lorraine had been handed over to the French, when all war material had been surrendered, the Germans learnt that Wilson's Fourteen Points were not going to be used as a basis for a treaty of peace at all—his proclamation of October, 1918, was to be totally disregarded—in fact there were going to be no negotiations of any kind. Germany just had to accept the conditions offered by the Allies, or perish.

England and France let Wilson down badly and his own countrymen let him down worse. Europe had never been nearer the Millennium than she was in October of 1918. But France's dread of Germany was revived. Once more Germany was in the power of France and France was going to do her utmost to tighten her clutch. Even after Germany signed the Treaty of Versailles she was not told how much the bill was that she had to pay for her sins. She was to be bled to her utmost capacity. She was to be held in permanent economic servitude. That was the Treaty which was laid before a powerless Germany to sign. Wilson's Fourteen Points formed the basis of the understanding on which Germany laid down her arms. Not the Germany of the Kaiser, but a Germany where the Kaiser had become almost as universally

despised as he was hated in the countries against whom he had been warring.

The Austrians, after the War, wanted to join and form part of the German Empire. This would have been the natural and just solution of a very difficult problem. But it did not suit France, who did not worry about what was natural and just. France was only concerned with what she considered her future security. In spite of the fact that Wilson's four principles, proclaimed on the 11th February, 1918, clearly stipulate :

1. That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

2. That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they are chattels or pawns in a game, even the great game, now for ever discredited, of the balance of power ; but that

- 3 Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival States ; and

4. That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

In spite of the second of Wilson's " Four Ends," enunciated on the 4th July, 1918 (Independence Day) :

2. The settlement of every question, whether of territory or sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery,

and in spite of the second of Wilson's " Five Particulars " which were given out to the world on the 27th September 1918 (immediately after the first great American victory of St. Mihiel), which read :

2. No special or separate interest of any single nation or group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

French security, however, has been the obsession which has kept Europe on the boil ever since the War, just as the *revanche* did before the War. France did not want Austria to be linked up in the German Empire as it would increase Germany's already large population by six millions. France did not take into account the fact that she had as enemies before the War, not only a Germany much larger than now, but also the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. To-day, that Austro-Hungarian Empire is irretrievably smashed up. And poor Austria is buffeted from one side to the other ; once the greatest nation in the world, but a few years ago still one of the mightiest empires in Europe, to-day resigned to do anybody's bidding as long as she is left in peace.

But not so with Hungary. Hungary is determined to put up a stiff fight, and, whatever happens, will not renounce her lost lands. They may have been separated from her, but she has not renounced them. She still considers them as Hungarian territory, no matter what the rest of the world may determine. And it is precisely this which is causing all the trouble. Hungary cannot be brought to realize that on account of her having embarked on an unsuccessful campaign the configuration of the Danubian lands has been radically altered. Certain nations who entered the War as our Allies were promised that their aspirations should be gratified in the event of a successful outcome of the struggle then in progress, in exchange for their help against the aggressor countries.

Now, the Hungarians have two great qualities that they know how to use to their utmost advantage : they are perfect gentlemen in their dealings with the foreigner

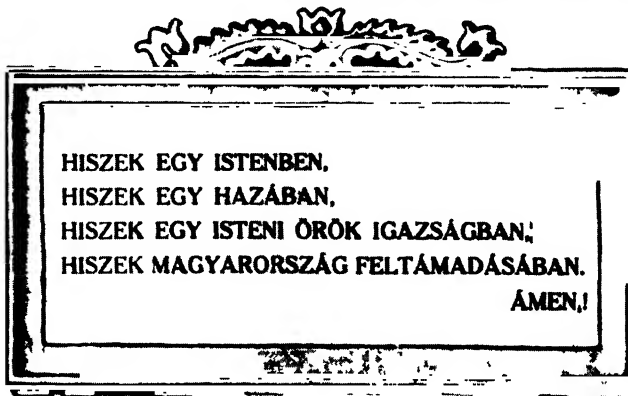
and as propagandists they are second to none. The second of these qualities seems to strengthen the first, and it is really very difficult to come to any unfavourable decision about them. In consequence of this the Hungarian point of view is always kept in front of the public in Great Britain, and we are led to believe that the Hungarians have been much worse treated than really is the case. Added to this is the fact that neither the Roumanians nor the Serbians have the slightest understanding of the value of skilfully disseminated propaganda, so that not only do they not get their point of view put across, but they never attempt to gainsay the anti-Roumanian and anti-Serbian propaganda that the Hungarians so very cleverly keep in circulation. Thus people draw the obvious conclusion that the Hungarians have had a very raw deal indeed and that the Roumanians and Serbians are just a lot of brigands capable of the most barbarous atrocities, by whom the Hungarians have been deprived of the lands they used to administer so fairly and impartially. So skilful is this Hungarian propaganda that the foreigner is convinced of the justice of the Hungarian demands, and so clumsy are the Roumanians and Serbians in some of their dealings where public opinion is concerned that the average person, who does not know very much about these very intricate questions, is only too ready to accept the Hungarian point of view, and regard the successor states as uncivilized bandits. In this way the Hungarians put their point of view across, whereas little or nothing is known about the actual facts as they really are. So much so, that as recently as 1934, one hundred and seventy members of the House of Commons backed a motion urging the British Government to intercede in favour of the revision of the Treaty of Trianon. Possibly not one of those members of Parliament had ever been farther than Budapest, and it is doubtful if the majority of them ever got even that far.

The Hungarians get influential foreigners to Budapest ; they treat their guests right royally—and the Hungarian is the finest host in the world—they take them out to their lovely estates—the Hungarian is still a great latifun-

OLVÁSMÁNYOK

MAGYAR HISZEKEGY.

Szíved is dobogja, szavad is hirdesse,
Ajkad azt rebegje, reggel, délben, este:



(Papp-Váry Elemérné.)

A KIS HONFI.



„Mi leszel te, hogyha megnősz,
Drága fiacskám?”

„Beállok majd katonának,
Aranymentés gyöngyhuszárnak
Édes jó anyám!”

„Mit csinálsz majd, eszemadta
Gyöngyhuszárocskám?”
„Ki magyart bánt, mind levágom,
Egy se legyen a világon.
Édes jó anyám!”

(Pósa Lajos.)

THE LITTLE PATRIOT

“What will you be, when you grow up,
My dear little son?”
“I shall become a soldier, and join the Royal Hussars,
My beloved mother.”
“What will you do, my darling little Hussar?”
“I shall kill all those who attack the Hungarians,
I do not want any enemies of Hungary to live,
My beloved mother.”

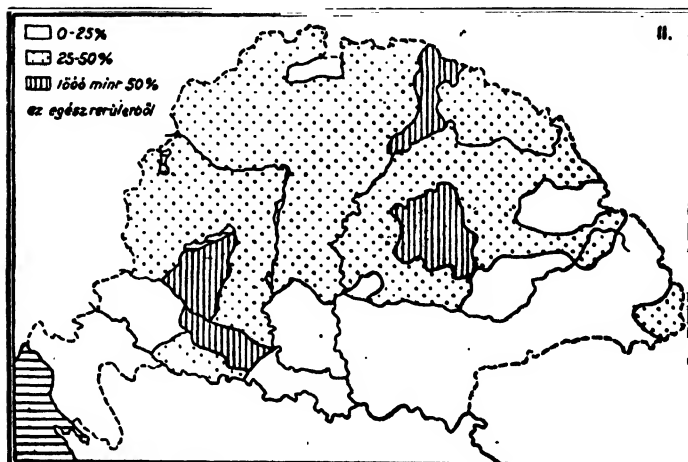
(Prayer and Child's Poem is on page 87 in a primer for the lowest class in the elementary schools.
Approved by the Hungarian Minister for Education in 1926. (Nos. 27111). Published by the

dian landlord—show them the pictures of what Hungary was and what Hungary is, and every guest goes home again a convinced and loyal supporter of Hungarian pretensions. Naturally, this infuriates the Serbs, but it is useless to suggest that they also should put out their own propaganda. They just rave and ask why the people cannot come to Belgrade and see for themselves the real truth, instead of going straight home after visiting Budapest. You cannot pump it into their heads that it is the clever Hungarian propagandists who bring the people to Budapest and not just that the people wander there, as they wander to Biarritz or Monte Carlo. They must use the same means of putting their case across and getting influential people to visit Belgrade for themselves, instead of swallowing the Hungarian version of the Serbian question unexamined. But they just do not understand the importance of propaganda. A fine race of people are the Serbs, brave, true and straightforward, but terribly obstinate and so clumsy that they can make no sort of a show against the wily Hungarian propagandists—the cleverest in the world.

Now, the Hungarian propaganda for the revision of the Treaty of Trianon is divided into two distinct sections: internal and external. The internal propaganda is meant to keep alive the claims of Hungary to the lost territories which belonged to her before the War. The external propaganda is designed not only to put the Hungarian pretensions across, but to spread unfavourable reports about the happenings within those territories and the injustice inflicted on Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon. So skilfully is this propaganda organized that every individual Hungarian becomes a propagandist. The hall-porters, the waiters, the hair-dressers, the friends you visit, your doctor, your lawyer, your baker or your plumber all know about those uncivilized Serbs or those corrupt Roumanians who are occupying territory that is not only pure Hungarian, but has belonged to Hungary for over a thousand years. The very books used for the pupils at school are all propaganda. The Hungarians, in this question of internal propaganda, go farther than

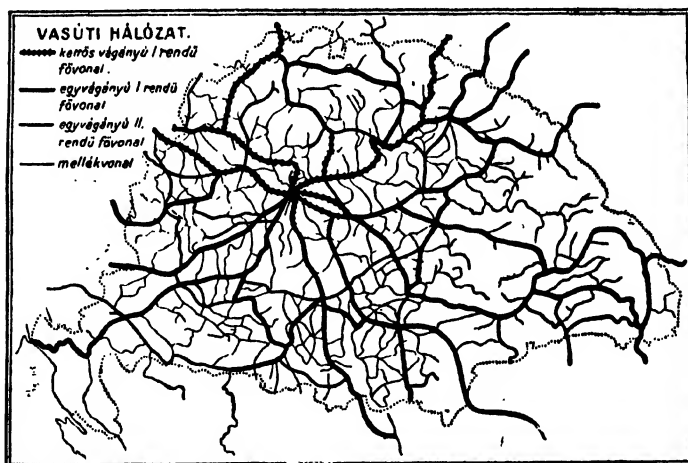
ever the French went after their disaster of 1870-71. The French convinced the world that Alsace-Lorraine was actually French, and the world believed it, whereas, in truth, hardly one-eighth of Alsace-Lorraine has ever been truly French. Alsace is almost completely German. The last pre-War census, taken in 1910, gave a population of 1,218,803, out of which 1,152,800 were German and only 58,165 French. The population of Lorraine, in the same census, was 655,211, of whom 481,460 were German and 146,600 French. Therefore out of the total population of Alsace-Lorraine shortly before the War, 1,634,260 were German and 202,760 were French, or in the proportion of more than eight Germans to one Frenchman. The French post-War statistics do not give any official figures with regard to the numbers of German and French in Alsace-Lorraine.

The French propaganda merchants kept the pot boiling all the time until war finally broke out in 1914. And goodness only knows how much that French Alsace-Lorraine propaganda contributed to the outbreak of the Great War. Yet the Hungarians go much farther than ever the French dared to go. Their very school books breed the future generation of Hungarian propagandists. The books from which the youngsters learn their geography actually ignore the Treaty of Trianon and the kiddies are taught that the lost territories still belong to Hungary. When they are taught a list of the Hungarian towns, the larger towns in the lost territories are still included in those lists, even in the newest school books published last year. When they study the agricultural or industrial statistics of Hungary, the lost territories are still regarded as a part of Hungary. For the study of the Hungarian railway system the charts do not show the actual Hungarian railway system, but the system that spreads over the whole territory which was formerly Hungary, regardless of the fact that some of the lines are new constructions by the Successor States since they have taken over the territories. Thus, the youngster, by the time he leaves school, or goes to the university, is a walking, talking propagandist of a greater Hungary.



NAGYBIRTOKOK

From Part 3, p. 41, of a Geography Manual, by Aurel Hezser, used by the third class in Commercial High Schools. Approved by the Hungarian Ministry of Education in 1929. (Nos. 660-02-113.) The inscription reads: "Large Estates." It was published in Budapest. It does not represent the frontiers of present-day Hungary, but of pre-War Hungary.



MAGYARORSZÁG VASÚTHÁLÓZATA

From Part 3 of a Geography Manual, by Aurel Hezser, used in the third class of Commercial High Schools. Approved by the Ministry of Education in 1929. (Nos. 660-02-113.) The inscription reads: "Hungarian Railway System." Published in Budapest. The frontiers shown are of pre-War and not present-day Hungary.

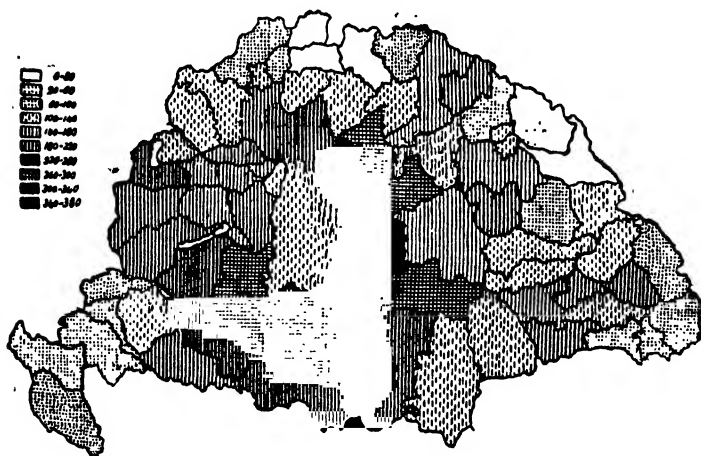
These school books are officially recognized by the Hungarian Ministry of Education, and mostly printed by the Press belonging to the University of Budapest and published under the auspices of that University. In those very school books there are vivid descriptions of how parts of Hungary were torn away by violence. One picture shows three Hungarys: Past, Present, Future. The first being Hungary before the War, the second the present map of Hungary—made to look as small as possible—so as to embitter the poor child still more, and and third, the Future—once again pre-War Hungary. Another book contains the verse: "Believe in one God. Believe in your Fatherland. Believe in eternal divine justice. Believe in the resurrection of Hungary." This verse is taken from the officially sanctioned Child's A B C for the first class of the elementary school.¹ That alone shows the thoroughness of Hungarian propaganda: right from earliest infancy, from the time the kiddy begins to stumble through its first primer.

But this is only a very small part of the gigantic web of Hungarian propaganda. Foreigners are also included in this system of propaganda education. Everything is done by the External Propaganda section to make the foreigner an active propagandist. Everything is done to bring the foreigner to Budapest, either as a tourist, or an industrialist, or as a guest, or in any way as long as he comes. Once he is there he feels the soothing effects of Hungarian propaganda (Internal section). Everything is done to make him happy. Nothing is omitted. All foreigners are treated alike—even Czechs, Serbs and Roumanians. Let them all come—of any creed, belief or religion. The official Hungarians carefully avoid wounding anyone's susceptibilities. In Hungary there is no anti-Semitism or "anti" anything. They have even found a way of balancing the anti-Semites and the pro-Semites. Just as they have found a way of smoothing over everything that might cause friction of any kind amongst people who may be likely to visit Budapest. The

¹ It was published by the Press belonging to the University of Budapest and approved by the Ministry of Education in 1926, number 27111.



Picture showing Hungary being broken into pieces by the Czechs, the Roumanians and the Serbs. It is taken from a reading book for the fourth form of Elementary Schools, p. 199. Edited for the School Books Commission by the Budapest University Press in 1927. Approved by the Ministry of Education. (No. 64613.)



MAGYARORSZÓG CÜZATERMELESE

From a Geography Manual by Franz Fodor. Used in the third class of Teachers Training Colleges. Approved by the Ministry of Education in 1929. (Nos. 884-05/83.) The inscription reads: "Wheat Production in Hungary." Published by the Budapest University Press. Although the graph is a recent one—1929—it represents Hungary's pre-war frontiers.

very Government is a cross between Fascism and parliamentary representation, between a republic and a monarchy. Nobody must be offended. Everybody is welcome. What great propagandists those Hungarians are. It is all so well done and co-ordinated that it is impossible to believe that it is all propaganda. That is why it is such good propaganda. You become convinced by it, without perceiving it.

When the foreigner gets to Budapest a welcome surprise awaits him. He finds that he can go into a Hungarian bank—not a foreign bank trading in Hungary—and change his money for about 40 per cent more than the money is worth. If the pound is worth sixteen pengos officially—to the Hungarian people—the foreigner gets twenty-five pengos for his pound. That is to say if a Hungarian subject takes an English pound note to the bank to change into Hungarian money, he only receives sixteen pengos for it, the correct, official value. But if a foreigner takes the same pound note to the same bank, no matter what sort of foreigner he may be, English, French, Serbian, Turkish, Zulu or Chinese, the price paid to him by the same cashier is twenty-five pengos. Naturally, the foreigner is delighted and thinks what a fine country Hungary is to live in.

Thanks to this bonus he is able to fling his money about and do much more with it. He enjoys all the good things in Hungary, many of which, perhaps, he cannot afford at home. And Budapest is a beautiful city. . . . There are no restrictions on the money, nor is there a special sort of money for the foreigner, like in those countries that want to attract the tourist. One gets just the same money or banknotes as anybody else and you can spend it how, where and when you like. The foreigner goes home one more active propagandist for the revision of the Treaty of Trianon, without even being aware of it.

Nothing is overdone, like the German, French or Polish propaganda. It is propaganda by insinuation. And when you get to Budapest, what a difference there is from every other capital in Europe. Budapest with the beautiful Danube, the wonderful bathing-pools with arti-

ficially induced sea waves, with the streets overcrowded with laughing, merry people, first-class hotels, excellent service everywhere, shops full, cafés full, theatres full, night-clubs full—and the best in Europe, too—cabarets full; everybody doing well, everybody happy. Budapest is booming while the other Continental capitals—Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Madrid—seem moribund in comparison. It is not only good propaganda, but it is also good business.

In framing the Treaties of Saint Germain and of Trianon after the War, the experts who were entrusted with the task of delineating the new frontiers for the Successor States were instructed to do so with the idea in view of fulfilling the aspirations of those nations whose co-nationals formerly belonged to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. That is to say, all the South Slavs that were formerly citizens of either Austria or Hungary were to be transferred, with the territory they inhabited, to the Serbs. Those territories which contained Roumanians were to be given to Roumania. Let it be said in passing, on Roumania's entry into the War she was promised much more of Hungarian territory than she actually received by the Treaty of Trianon. According to the agreement between Roumania, on the one hand, and Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia, on the other hand, Roumania was to have received all the territory as far as the River Tisza—which would have made a much safer frontier for her. Whereas, in reality, Roumania only received from Hungary the territory as far as the line of Nagylak-Nagyszalouta-Nagykároly, which really means that Roumania renounced thousands of square miles that had been promised her as the price of her entry into the War. But as the inhabitants of that territory were pre-eminently Hungarian, the Commission entrusted with the work decided that it was to remain Hungarian and Roumania had to agree. A small piece of Hungary was given to Austria—goodness only knows why—and the Czechs, Slovaks and Ruthenes were allowed to secede from the Dual Monarchy and form a state of their own.

However, it so happens that that great ruler of the

German Empire—Maria Theresa—adopted a policy of her own with regard to the minority nations in her domains. She peppered their lands with German and Hungarian peasants and filled their towns with German and Hungarian officials and functionaries, in order to infuse them with a mixture of German and Hungarian ideas. As a result of this policy of Maria Theresa's, parts of the territories awarded to the Successor States contain a considerable sprinkling of Hungarians. These Hungarians are, for the most part, simple peasants who only want to be left in peace to carry on their peasant way of living, not caring very much to what land they belong, as long as they can keep body and soul together. Their lives are hard ones whatever country they belong to, and it makes little difference to them whether they owe allegiance to Hungary or serve under Serbian colours. What they want is to be left in peace. However, in these territories, in the towns, there are also people, Hungarian by birth, who might be classed as intellectuals. These are the real trouble-makers—professional trouble-makers. Not all of them ; some of them. And, curiously enough, all these professional trouble-makers are individuals who have opted for the citizenship of their new State and are no longer Hungarian. Their excuse being that if they had not done so they would have lost their livelihoods because, according to the Treaty of Trianon, all who desired to remain Hungarian must give up their residence in Jugoslavia, for example, within two years. That is to say, they have sworn allegiance to their new country, so as to save their skins, and they are now working for Hungary, to save their faces. These are the people that Hungary depends upon to stir up trouble on the other side of her frontiers, and keep the pot boiling. It is doubtless a great game, but a dangerous one.

The mode of operation of the External section of the Hungarian system of propaganda is two-fold : to discredit the Successor States in the eyes of the world and to stir up trouble within the borders of those States. Every disquieting rumour, every disturbing influence, every discrediting insinuation emanates, in one way or another,

from Budapest. A few months after the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia there was an exodus of Hungarians from the north of Yugoslavia. Photographs of these people were published all over the world with very strong comments. Amongst these photographs there was one of a child of about six years of age, with her name and address written on a placard and sewn to the front of her dress. The world was horrified at these atrocities. But the world has only been told the Hungarian version. Nobody has ever published the Yugoslavian side of this unfortunate occurrence. There is no reason whatsoever why the Yugoslavians should be any less truthful than the Hungarians. Everybody who saw this picture had visions of hundreds, nay, thousands, of kiddies being bundled into trains, with labels on, and shot across the Hungarian border.

On account of the cruel murder of the King of Yugoslavia the sympathy of the whole world turned to the Triune Kingdom. On account of the engagement of the Duke of Kent to Princess Marina of Greece—they met at Bled, in Yugoslavia—people began to take a sympathetic interest in that Balkan State, but, with one blow, the clumsy behaviour of the Yugoslavs undid the lot, and the Hungarian propagandists lost no time in taking advantage of it. If the Yugoslavs had had an efficient propaganda service they would have flashed the truth of the whole sad occurrence across the world in the twinkling of an eye and denied the reports so skilfully spread abroad by the Hungarians. But no! All they did was to writhe with hatred at the Hungarians and ask why people could not come to Yugoslavia and see for themselves what was truth and what was lies. The affair nearly led to a war. In fact the world fully expected a war. But the Hungarians know a thing or two. They apologized. The Hungarians were not going to have a war. They are far too clever for that. Budapest is only about two hours, by aeroplane, from the Yugoslavian frontier. The Serbs could be there and back in a morning and they could bomb Budapest to smithereens. Besides, all the mischief had been done. The Serbian atrocities were spoken about all over the world. That was one

more scoop for the Hungarian propagandists. They certainly know their business, if nothing else.

But the Hungarians were playing with a blazing fire, and they nearly did for themselves. Few people know how near Eastern Europe was to bloodshed that time. Everybody in Serbia wanted war to get the air cleared once and for all; the Hungarians had got their goat once too often, and it was only French and Italian pressure that kept them back. The Italians themselves, perhaps, are not absolutely guiltless in the question of the assassination. As for the Hungarians, if they did not actually deliver the blow, they fostered and fanned the spirit of discontent in parts of Yugoslavia which prompted those misguided patriots to shoot down a very brave and deserving man. A man who was dear to the hearts of the Serbians. A man who had tried to do something for Serbia. A man who made mistakes, but whose mistakes were not irreparable and certainly would not have resulted in his death, unless unrest had been deliberately fostered by people interested in diverting Yugoslavia's energies from the development of her now tremendous territory which is actually larger than Great Britain.

King Alexander of Yugoslavia arrived in Marseilles on the 9th of October, 1934. He was in France on a political mission. He was driving with M. Barthou, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, when a man boarded the car and shot both King Alexander and M. Barthou dead. The hatred of the Hungarians this crime aroused knew no limits in Serbia. But they were restrained by the Powers from taking the law into their own hands. So they determined to expel a certain number of the trouble-makers.

According to the Treaty of Trianon the Yugoslavians and the Hungarians living in the "peppered" districts had the choice of choosing their nationalities, which they had to decide upon within two years of the Treaty being signed. That is to say, within two years of the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, the Hungarians living in the lands awarded to Yugoslavia had to decide whether they wanted to remain Hungarian or accept Yugoslavian

nationality. If they wanted to retain their Hungarian nationality then they were supposed to leave Yugoslavia and take up their abode in Hungary within the two allotted years. The same thing applied to the Yugoslavians living on the Hungarian side of the frontier. On the other hand, if they did not worry about deciding one way or the other, they automatically became members of the State where they were living. But the majority of these poor people were so ignorant that they did not realize what the whole thing was about. Thousands of them did not fill in their options and thus became Hungarians or Serbs, as the case happened to be, overnight, whereas others filled in their papers as they thought fit and remained where they were, even though they should have claimed their removal to Hungarian or Yugoslavian territory, according to their case. Thus thousands of Hungarians, who had chosen to remain Hungarian, stayed on in Yugoslavia, and as Serbia was short of population, seeing that she had lost more than half her manhood in her recent wars, she did not bother about insisting on their being shifted.

Years passed and these Hungarians still remained working on Yugoslavian soil and earning good Yugoslavian money. There was still a scarcity of labour and no dearth of employment. The world economic depression did not hit Yugoslavia as early as it hit the Western countries, but about 1932 they did begin to have unemployment in Yugoslavia. Nothing of any great importance, but for an agricultural country with growing pains, any unemployment is serious. There was some agitation against harbouring foreigners while there were their own people to do the work. But the Government did not pay much attention to these complaints as the unemployment question was not a serious one, and they had their hands full with very difficult matters of an administrative character. So, the complaints were received and pigeon-holed and nothing more was done about them. These few thousand Hungarians were not going to make all that difference and the administrative matters were really serious.

The assassination fell on Yugoslavia like a bombshell. Every Serbian sensed the hand of Hungary behind the mischief. There was a popular outcry about giving work to Hungarians when there were Yugoslavians out of employment. Those Hungarians who had opted for Yugoslavian citizenship were amongst the foremost in their demands that work should not be given to foreigners, meaning the Hungarians who still legally remained Hungarian, when they themselves, who had chosen to be loyal to Yugoslavia, could not find work. The officials began collecting the Hungarians who had no right to be in Yugoslavia and put them on the other side of the frontier, into Hungary, where they belonged and where they ought to have been sent years ago. It was very tactless and clumsy. The Serbians played right into the hands of the Hungarian propagandists. It was a godsend for them. They made the most of it. The Press of the whole world rang with the Serbian atrocities, but no mention was ever made of the Hungarian complicity in the murder of the Serbian king. Nevertheless, if it had not been for the skilful way in which the Hungarian propagandists agitated, the murder would never have taken place. And, if it had not been for the murder, the deportations might never have taken place.

With regard to the poor little child that the Press of the world made so much of, the official Serbian explanation is simple. The mother of the child was a widow who had opted to remain Hungarian. Like so many others, she did not go to her elected country until several years after the allotted span of two years. Eventually, she did go, and as soon as she had got properly settled in Hungary, *she asked for the child to be sent on to her.* The child was to have been sent a few days later, but as there were so many other Hungarians being sent to Hungary, the Serbians thought it would be better for the child to go in their company. At least they all spoke the same language and it would be much more company for the kiddy. Besides that, the officials of the Hungarian Government were meeting the trains at Szeged, and if they put a large label on the child's clothing, there would

be no difficulty in delivering it safely into the hands of its parent. Furthermore, the child received every possible care and attention. Nobody who knows the Serbs could ever accuse them of being cruel to children. I went to the trouble of having the picture from the Press photographed and enlarged. It was as I thought! The basket was not only full to overflowing with food—enough to last a week, although the train journey from Sombor¹ to Szeged only takes about two hours—but it actually contained a vacuum-flask. The kiddy was very well clad and looked perfectly happy and contented. However, nothing of this could be seen in the picture published in the Press. Although the Press made such an outcry, it was the *only* child so despatched, while one was led to believe that there were thousands. In fact, the total number of Hungarians deported from Yugoslavia, including men and women, did not amount to three thousand. But from the reports published in the Press at the time, it seemed more like half a nation.

Under a regulation of long standing, all foreigners working in Yugoslavia must have a work-permit, more or less as in England. The only difference being that, except at times of crisis, they do not take these work-permits very seriously in Yugoslavia, whereas it is impossible for a foreigner to get work in England without one. But when the outcry arose about harbouring agitators who were taking bread out of Yugoslav mouths, the authorities were forced to take action, and it was found that there were over twenty-three thousand Hungarians working in Yugoslavia without work-permits. It therefore seemed high time that a lesson was given to Hungary by sending some of her own people back to her. A start was made with the batch about which we have heard so much and seen so much, in papers, on the films, in lectures and where not else. But where the Serbians were so clumsy, as to walk right into the hands of the Hungarian propagandists, was in taking action immediately after the assassination of their King Alexander. It looked so much like revenge that the outsider could be made to

¹ The child had been living with her grandfather at Sombor (Yugoslavia). He is still living there.

believe anything that the Hungarians chose to dish up and lay before him. There was no counter-propaganda of any description, so what could the man-in-the-street think but that what he read in the papers, or saw on the screen, was the truth? Whereas, if the Serbs had only allowed their anger to cool for a time and then started the expulsions on an organized scale, they could have put the whole lot over their frontiers within about eighteen months, and nobody would have worried about it. Now they do not know what to do with the remaining twenty thousand. They do not want to harbour them at the expense of their own people and they dare not start the expulsions all over again, for fear of getting into hot water once more.

Even so, when you consider all the details of the Yugoslav version some credit must be given to the Serbian Government for the amount of patience and consideration they displayed during those critical weeks. With their own people clamouring for redress of their country's wrongs, with their own nationals out of work while non-nationals, many of whom were agitators, were taking the bread out of their mouths, with their King lying dead, laid low by an assassin's bullet, they did give the Hungarians a minimum of seven days to get ready to leave and they were not marched across the frontier on foot, but were sent by train. Out of twenty-three thousand who had no work-permits, three thousand were deported. Amongst those going across the Hungarian frontier there was the little girl about whom there was so much fuss, being sent to her new home, at her mother's request, properly labelled so that she should not get lost. It is not the first time that children have been sent alone on a journey labelled in more or less the same way. It is often done in this country by careful people. Children have even been sent in this way by aeroplane. And, this very year, when the L.C.C. school children were conducted to the Mall to see the King and Queen pass during the Jubilee celebrations, every child was carefully labelled in case any of them should get lost.

When the British authorities hear of any foreigner in

this country accepting employment without a work-permit, or any undesirable alien whom they think it advisable to expel, the alien concerned is very lucky if he gets forty-eight hours' notice, not to speak of seven days. The Home Office does not worry about how long the person has been living here, or what interests he may have, out he has to go, and he is lucky if he is allowed forty-eight hours to go in. This practice of the Home Office produces no criticism, but a comparison may be made with the minimum of seven days accorded to the deported Hungarians.

Jugoslavia is not the only country that has been deporting foreigners on a large scale. France has been doing so, also : although the Press have not blared it to the four winds. Tens of thousands of foreigners have been sent away from France within the last twelve months, and they have not had their fares paid for them, but they had to pay their own. Not only France, but other countries as well, are passing laws so that their own countrymen shall have all the available work that is going, before allowing the foreigner to take a share. That is only natural : only very poor statesmen fail to look after the welfare of their own people before that of the foreigner, which is his own country's concern.

The French laws only allow firms to employ 10 per cent of foreign labour. All the rest has to be national labour. We go still farther than that. We do not allow our British firms to employ any foreign labour at all, except in the case of specialized work where we cannot supply the demand. We have had our alien immigration laws in operation for many years now, whereas the French law has not been put into force more than a few months. But already, thousands and thousands of foreigners who were formerly working in France, have had to give up their employment to make way for Frenchmen. Many of these were Bulgarians, Croats and Slovenes who had been sent to France during the War, or who had gone there after the War. As this new law made it impossible for them to continue in France they had to try to find work elsewhere. Some

went to Italy. Now Italy has her own unemployment troubles ; not all the grass is green in Italy either. But here was an opportunity too good to miss. Italy has never loved the Yugoslavs ; she has a Yugoslav minority problem of her own which often causes her anxiety. In her case it is a very much more ticklish affair than the Hungarian minority problem. Hers is a coterminous minority. That is to say her Yugoslavs are massed together on the Yugoslavian frontier.

This hatred of Jugoslavia is no new thing in Italy. There was a good deal of bad blood between the Italians and the South Slavs before the War and even during the War. But since the collapse of Italy's greatest enemy, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, there is hatred of the worst kind between the two Adriatic kingdoms. There is no limit to which Italy will not go to get her knife into Jugoslavia. Italy actually hates Jugoslavia worse than she ever hated the Austrians or Hungarians. And yet, after all, there is no need for it. There is really no reason for Italy to be so afraid of her Adriatic neighbour. But the fact is that she is afraid of her. She begrudges her every progress and is ready to bar any step Jugoslavia may take. Jugoslavia is a small nation, mostly peasants, of about fifteen million inhabitants. Italy is a nation of over forty millions. Nevertheless whatever harm Italy could do to Jugoslavia she would gladly do it, either by discrediting Jugoslavia as a nation or by stirring up strife within her frontiers. So that it was a gift from heaven for Italy when the French began to enforce their laws with regard to the employment of foreigners. Italy stretched forth her arms to welcome any stray Hungarians, Bulgarians, Croats or Slovenes who might go to Italy in search of work. They were collected and given hospitality. The Croats and Slovenes were told of the dreadful fate that had overtaken their fellow-countrymen who had been incorporated in Greater Serbia against their will ; of the terrible times their countrymen in Jugoslavia were having to go through under the Serbian yoke : it was monstrous that they, people of superior culture, should be under the domination of the practically uncivilized

Serbs ; it ought to have been the other way about. They were told how the families of the Croats and Slovenes had to suffer and toil under their Serbian task-masters. The Hungarians were fed with their country's propaganda against Yugoslavia. They and their fellow refugee Croats and Slovenes were gathered together into proper training-camps : training to be agitators. Training to be sent back, later on, to the mother-country that many of them knew very little about, in the Italian pay, to stir up strife, to sow discontent, to cause trouble, wherever possible. And they have caused trouble ; plenty of it.

There is not an atom of doubt that the misdeeds of the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee, which have caused so much friction between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, were not only countenanced but actually fostered by the Italian High Command. The same training-camps exist in Hungary. The Hungarians teach the dissenting Croats, Slovenes and former Hungarians that their lands have been taken from them, that their families have been broken up, that their duty is vengeance. I do not believe they are actually taught to assassinate people, but they are taught to use the pistol and throw bombs. On more than one occasion representations have been made to the Italian Government about the presence in Italy of these centres where the emigrants from France and other countries are collected, but the Italian Government have not shown any inclination to repatriate these people. There is no doubt that they are useful to Italy, but, also, that they are a menace to the peace of Europe.

So that between Italy on the one side, Hungary on another and Bulgaria on another, with the everlasting Macedonian unrest, Yugoslavia is not having any too happy an existence. Is there any wonder that her people became exasperated last year at the assassination of their King Alexander ? For those travellers who have visited Yugoslavia, what is still a greater wonder is that the Yugoslavian Government were able to restrain their people. It was touch and go whether there would be war. A matter of only a few hours.

The peculiar part about the whole thing is that the

Hungarians do not deny that they are deliberately stirring up trouble. They glory in the fact. For them it is the greatest sign of patriotism. They declare that the Treaty of Trianon has forbidden them every arm of defence, so they have invented new arms. It is reminiscent of the American attempt at prohibition. You forbid a man to buy beer and he brews poison. And this is as true of nations as of individuals. The Hungarians are making full use of the only weapon that the Allies have not been able to take away from them : their brains. It might have been safer to have let the Hungarians possess artillery. When they did have cannon in plenty, they were none too useful with them.

A proposition was made to execute a plan of exchange like the one which was so successful in settling the Greco-Turkish difficulty with regard to Greeks residing in Turkey and Turks residing in Greece. After the Greek defeat in Asia Minor there was great anxiety about what would happen to the Greek inhabitants of the recaptured territories, because the Turks were in no mood for fooling about. Anyhow, by the Treaty of Lausanne it was agreed that there should be a free exchange of Greeks in Turkey for Turks in Greece. About a million and a half Greeks were returned to Greece against the same number of Turks being sent home to Turkey. It was a tremendous undertaking. The Greeks state that they lost over the transaction, but it has served to allay the traditional enmity that has always existed between the two Ægean nations. To-day, the Greeks and the Turks live in an atmosphere of friendship, for the first time in history. Turkey and Greece are even co-signatories of the Balkan Pact, in conjunction with Roumania and Jugoslavia, in which these four States agree to stand by each other and, jointly and severally, to resist any attempt at changing their present frontiers. During the Venizelos revolt of March, 1935, against the Greek Government, the Turks actually demonstrated to the Bulgarians the fact that they would not tolerate any attempt on the part of Bulgaria to help the Greek revolutionaries. Otherwise, probably, Bulgaria might have taken advantage of Greece's trouble

to try to regain possession of Cavala. What a difference ! Turkey actually guaranteeing Greece against an attack by a third Power. That is what compromise can do. To-day the Greeks and the Turks understand each other for the first time in history. If this exchange had not been carried out, the old trouble would still be one of the causes of European unrest.

But the Hungarians will not hear of any such scheme. They are determined to keep their people in the Successor States. They are not even afraid to give their reasons. They state quite clearly that if they made an exchange it would mean giving away their best vantage-point. All their claims to the lost territories would disappear with the exchange. That is the very thing they do not want. Their plan is an Irish one. To keep on worrying the Jugoslavs so much that in the end they will be only too pleased to make some territorial concessions so as to live in peace. But the Hungarians do not know the Serbs, if they think that possible. The Serbs will not cede one foot of the land they have been awarded by the Treaty of Trianon without making a fight for it. The Hungarians may be wily, but the Serbs are resolute. Nevertheless, the Hungarian Revisions League lays it down as their minimum programme that all frontier lands containing Hungarians must be returned to Hungary ; and all enclave territories containing Hungarians must have absolute autonomy. So now you see the reason why the Hungarians will never agree to a free exchange on the lines of the Greco-Turk undertaking. What is rather attractive about the Hungarian is the fact that he does not make any secret of it at all. Those are his aspirations and he intends to go on stirring up trouble and fishing in muddy water until they become realized. Time will tell.

There are many ways of stirring up trouble : some of these we have already examined, but the principal way is by means of non-co-operation. No Hungarian—that is no Hungarian who has accepted Jugoslav, Roumanian or Czechoslovak nationality—is to co-operate with his new co-nationals. This naturally incenses an obstinate

race like the Serbs. It leads to trouble. The trouble comes out in the Press. The world reads how badly the Hungarians, who are now Jugoslavs, are being treated by the Serbs in the new territories which were entrusted to them by the Treaty of Trianon. That Treaty must be revised! Deputies who have been elected by the Hungarian-speaking population because those very deputies were themselves Hungarian-speaking people, refuse to carry out the duties they were elected for. They persist in non-cooperation. These are the instructions they have received from Budapest. The Serbians do not know which way to turn, so at last they close Parliament and try to get on without it. The world reads about the minority sections having no voice in their affairs. Scandalous. What barbarians those Serbs must be! The Treaty of Trianon must be revised!

We continually hear tendentious rumours about the Successor States put into circulation by the Hungarian propagandists. Anything as long as it keeps the pot boiling. One day we hear that the Slovenes want to separate from the Triune Kingdom and go over to Italy; whereas, if the average man only knew the political history of present-day Europe, he would know that Italy would be the last country that the Slovenes would want to join up with. More of this later on. Another day he will read that the Croats are sorry they ever joined up with Serbia and would prefer to return to Austria. If the average man only knew the present-day condition of Austria, and the Croat does know, he would not pay any heed to such rumours. For one thing, the Croats have important industries; who are going to be their customers if they linked up with Austria?

At another time we read that the Slovaks want to separate from the Czechs. Yet again, that the Czechs promised the Ruthenes Home Rule and they have never given it. That the Roumanians are the most corrupt people in the world, and that you cannot do business without tipping the Ministers of the Crown. In this way we are led to believe that Hungary is the only safe State out of the whole lot, and thus the Successor States

are discredited; so very few people ever visit those countries that the rumours go on and are believed.

Very few of the complaints made by the Hungarians against the Serbs will really stand examination. Nevertheless, as long as the Serbs persist in their attitude of not taking the trouble to deny these allegations, but rather treating them with contempt, the world will go on believing that the Hungarian statements are true: *whether they are or not*. Some of the statements made by Hungarian official people were the following; they were actually taken down in the presence of one of these officials, a very high-standing personage:

There are about half a million Hungarian-speaking people in Jugoslavia. They are treated in every respect worse than in Czechoslovakia. They are not admitted to the Cadet Schools, nor can they become officers in the Jugoslavian army. They are not allowed to have their own clubs or social societies of any description. They are not allowed to receive any books or newspapers from Hungary. The Hungarian recruits are not allowed to serve in their own district, but are shifted to extreme parts of the country. The Germans are infinitely better treated. There is no discrimination in the case of taxes—all are assessed on the same basis—but the Hungarians are sold up while the Serbs are not. All functionaries, no matter how subordinate, must be Serbs. The Jugoslavs have not kept the minority agreement, with regard to private and confessional schools. There is only the Central administration and not even local self-government. The majority of local councils are nominated and not elected—nominated generally by Central Government, and therefore the system of self-government is not democratic. There is no circulation of Hungarian books or papers in the Jugoslav State. They change the examination subjects for matriculation to keep Hungarians away from the universities. No facilities are given by the national banks to the Hungarian banks.

These were the allegations made against the Jugoslav State, in what appeared to be good faith. On the surface

the Successor States seemed to be trampling upon liberty. A worse state of things—in every way worse—than actually existed before. The Treaties of St. Germain and of Trianon were drafted to do justice to minorities; but the Treaties, it appeared, had only produced other minorities and graver injustices than before.

However, these allegations must be examined carefully, not in Budapest, but on the spot: in Belgrade, in Bucharest and in Prague. There must be another side to the medal, and that must be examined also. The Hungarians certainly admit that if the Serbs do handle them roughly, it is largely their own fault. They recognize that the Germans in Jugoslavia get along very well with the Serbs, their new masters, because they never try to provoke them. The result is that the new German-speaking populations have been able to acquire many concessions from the Serbs which have not been granted to the Magyar population because they are so troublesome. And they do grant the fact that the Serbs would be willing to make all allowances to the Magyars that they make to the Germans, if the Magyars would only get down to their jobs and become loyal and faithful servants like the German population. But they will not. And so the struggle goes on. Again they admit that the severity of the Serbs makes the Hungarians behave themselves much better and more prudently than their co-nationals in Roumania and Czechoslovakia. So that the Magyar is a much better-behaved citizen in Jugoslavia than in the other Successor States. But he hates the Serb for this very reason. Life is much better for the Magyar, and easier, in Roumania than elsewhere, because he says he can get what he wants by bribery. In spite of all his hatred of the Serb, he admits that the Serb is incorruptible. He calls him barbarous, he calls him uncivilized, he calls him obstinate and suspicious, but he also says that he is entirely honest—and brave.

Life in Jugoslavia, after coming from all the gaiety and splendour of Budapest does seem primitive. Belgrade is just a large country town. There are one or two fairly modern shops in its main streets, but they only serve to

make the others look all the shabbier. The Serbs are not a commercial race by any means, nor are they a wealthy people. They are a nation of small farmers, and Belgrade is exactly the capital of such a nation. It must also be remembered that only about a couple of decades ago, Serbia was a very small country indeed, of not more than three million inhabitants. That was up to the first Balkan war in 1913. The population of Belgrade was about 70,000. To-day Yugoslavia contains about fifteen million, and Belgrade over 250,000 inhabitants. From being a very small and unimportant Balkan state, Yugoslavia has developed into one of the most important European political units. Twenty years ago a defeated nation without a home, bereft of country, fighting on foreign soil because its own was occupied by an invading nation, with its capital, Belgrade, pounded to smithereens by a merciless invader, Yugoslavia is now trying to settle down to peaceful work and to develop the country she has fought so valiantly and defiantly to defend. She will require all the peace and quietude she can obtain to carry on with the tremendous task she has put her hand to. The Serbians have had little or no experience in government. Her people were mostly illiterate; hard and rough men used to a life the frugality of which would have shocked the average European. From that primitive condition of existence, she has been called upon to take her place amongst the comity of civilized nations at a moment when the times themselves were none too civilized. She had received among her new territories about half a million Hungarians and about four hundred thousand Germans, both of whom were much more advanced culturally than the Serbs.

Thus Yugoslavia had to live up to and govern almost a million of foreigners who had more centuries of civilization than the Serb had decades. In her new territories she had absorbed two brother-peoples: the Croats and the Slovenes. These two brother-peoples were also far ahead of the Serbs culturally, politically and industrially. Both these Slavic peoples had formerly enjoyed their own special form of autonomy when they formed part of Austria-Hungary. They both stood very high culturally

even compared with the most advanced nations in Europe. It was a great task that the Serbs had undertaken. Small wonder that they have made mistakes. What nation could have tackled such a task without making mistakes? Added to this they have had to cope with a jealous rival, a vendetta-seeking brother Slav nation on their flank: Bulgaria. Quite enough to go on with apart from the defeated and disturbing element formed by the Hungarians within their realm. Not many nations in history have had such a difficult start and yet acquitted themselves so well.

In the early years after the war a parliamentary government was formed. But the Serbs made the mistake of looking upon the Croats and Slovenes as defeated nations, which they were not. In fact the Croats and Slovenes had contributed quite as much to the victory of the Serbs, in their own special way, as the Serbs themselves. But the Croats and especially the Slovenes stood on a higher cultural and political level than the Serbs had ever attained. They therefore expected to be able to raise the Serbs to their level, whereas in reality they were being pulled down to the Serbian level. This led to actual shootings in the Parliament of Belgrade—the Skupshтина—the imprisonment of Croat and Slovene leaders and the final closing of Parliament altogether. The Croats and Slovenes became incensed at this rough handling, but there never was any question of separation. They persisted in their demands for autonomy in internal matters, like that they had enjoyed under the Austro-Hungarian rule. But how could Belgrade learn in five years what it had taken Austria a thousand years to learn.

Parliament was closed and King Alexander became Dictator. That did not better matters either. Both the Croats and Slovenes want to remain with Serbia, but they want to go ahead and not go backwards. If they were to leave Serbia, to whom would they go? Would they go over to Italy, their natural, traditional enemy? Riding in harness with Serbia might be bad, but being under Italy would be a thousand times worse! Italy already has both Croats and Slovenes under her

ægis, and how is she treating them. No treatment of a subject-race could be more oppressive. They are not permitted schools in their own language, they are not permitted sermons in church in their own language; the shopkeeper is not even allowed to speak to his customers in their vernacular, nor use any sign outside his shop that is not expressed in Italian. The Croats and the Slovenes even have to change their names and Italianize them, so that if a man is called *Antonovitch* he has to change his name to *Antoni*. They are not even allowed to speak their own language in the streets, at times.

Such is the rigour with which the Italians treat their minorities. But the Italians are able to behave like this because, being considered a Great Power, they were not obliged to agree to any defined treatment of minorities. Croats and Slovenes in Italy are Italians; and they have to speak Italian; they have to be Italian; and how can they be Italian if they speak in any other language!

No, there is no chance of the Croats and the Slovenes going over to Italy. The whole Croat-Slovene question is an internal not a political matter. No Croat or Slovene wants to leave the Triune Kingdom. What he wants is an administration that allows him enough freedom of action to permit him to go forward and not backward, and it is up to the Serb to thrash this problem out with the Croats and Slovenes and find a solution suitable to all three and be ready to give and take. And the Serb will have to give an awful lot—he has far to go before he can catch up with his co-nationals. He is a brave man, however, and he ought to know how to give way. But there is no question whatsoever of any separation. There is too much to lose by it. The Yugoslav market is still the best that the Croats can hope for in the topsy-turvy state of commerce and industry to-day. And as a small independent nation, there is no prospect for them either. Their very existence depends on their riding the storm at Serbia's side; the problem is to find a *modus vivendi* suitable to all.¹

¹ I find I must finish this chapter in the first person. The remaining portion is practically all the result of personal research carried out in the different states of the Balkans and Central Europe.

In Budapest, one of the principal complaints made against the Serbs was that they would not allow any newspapers, books or literature of any kind, in the Hungarian language, to cross the Yugoslav frontier. So much so that they advised me to arrange that special books on this minority problem that I was given and I purchased in Hungary should be forwarded direct to England and not taken with me to Belgrade. And they were so insistent that I did so. The Hungarians themselves sent them off for me. What was my surprise when, on arriving in Belgrade, I found that there was not only no search made at all, but that there was also no Customs inquiry of any description. My bags were taken by a porter and put on to a taxi and I was driven to my hotel. I even left a couple of Budapest newspapers lying about in my room at the hotel, but no notice was taken of them. I was careful to tie some hairs across my luggage on three occasions, before I went out, and these were never tampered with.¹ In fact, I can safely say that the whole time I was abroad investigating conditions in nearly every country in Europe my luggage was never tampered with, although I had heard so many funny tales about such things before leaving England.

There is an excellent hotel in Belgrade—the Srpski Kralj—and the service is quite good. There was the usual signing of a register, etc., but the formalities are not so elaborate as those for a foreigner in England. The drive to the hotel from the station was along a very bad and dusty road, but as I have already pointed out, Belgrade is just a country town and requires a lot of development before it can come up to the requirements of a great city according to our standards. The principal hotel, however, was a good deal better than we should find in an English town of equal size. The restaurants are really very good and the food and cooking excellent even when compared with French and Italian standards. The prices were ridiculously low. Everything although very simple was spotlessly clean. There are some very big first-class

¹ I took a switch of woman's hair away with me specially for this purpose.

cafés, much larger than any other Continental country would have in a town of a similar type. There are several cabarets in which Hungarian prostitutes abound. In fact Hungary seems to supply the majority of prostitutes throughout the Balkans as well as the cabaret-artists. This is not meant in any derogatory sense, but it is stating a plain fact. It even goes to show that in this respect, at least, the Hungarian has nothing to complain of against the Serbs. The Serbian women do not give themselves up very much to prostitution, although they are rather free, generally, in their morals. But they are not adapted to making a profession of it. The majority of women who, in other countries, would be directed to that walk of life, are busy on the farm in Serbia. The factory and office have not tried to make ladies of them yet. The small-holding is still the main industry of Jugoslavia.

There are dozens and dozens of smaller places, a mixture of the French *estaminet* and the German *bierlokal*, where you can get excellent food, lovely fruit, wonderful Serbian wines and liqueurs, together with gypsy singing, dancing and music at such low prices that it is ridiculous to continue the comparison. These are for the working-classes in the main. The other dancing-halls are for the middle-class—such as it is—and they dance all the modern dances to modern music, just as in any other part of Europe, but the people are not so well-dressed. In fact they are very poorly dressed and with little taste. From this the reader will understand that in going to Jugoslavia he is not visiting some Wild-man-of-Borneo State. He is going to a country that is very simple in its customs and habits, rather different from our own standards, but an intelligent people who are trying to raise their standard of existence to suit their own special conditions and needs, with the small means that they have at their disposal, amidst a hard world that is itself so heavily burdened at present as to have no time for sympathy, either practical or philosophical, for anybody else's troubles. So the Serbs know that they only can count on their own efforts and they do not intend to look to anybody else for help, but to solve their own special

problems in their own special way ; at the same time they are not likely to brook any interference from any outsider, no matter from what quarter it may come. At least that was my impression of Serbia and the Serbs.

There is no doubt about it, if there are any rumours of trouble inside the Successor States, they always emanate from the Hungarians. Sometimes, it is that Croatia or Slovenia wants to separate from Serbia ; another time, that the Czechoslovakians are not fulfilling their promises to give autonomy to the Ruthenes, at another time that the poor Turks are being forcibly evacuated from their farms in the Dobruja or that there has been trouble on the Bulgo-Yugoslavian frontier of Macedonia. The Hungarians pose as the champions of every minority in the Successor States, although they themselves were none too benevolent to their own minorities when they had them. In this way the Successor States become discredited in the eyes of Western Europe, and the public opinion of the Great Nations is led to believe that the Governments of the Successor States are not fit to carry on with the great tasks entrusted to them by the Peace Treaties.

In the treatment of her minorities, Yugoslavia has done her utmost to fulfil her Treaty obligations. I could not find anything to support the Hungarian allegations in any respect. In dealing with the Serb you are up against character. He does not say he wants fifty when he only expects to get twenty-five ; he has had no schooling in modern diplomatic finesse. And he is incorruptible. This last is one of the stumbling-blocks as far as the Hungarians are concerned, because, although the Hungarian is by no means the most corrupt nation in Europe, nevertheless a little bribery and tactful treatment does go a long way in Hungary. But the Serb is inflexibly upright in this respect. Some idea of this special characteristic may be understood best by a practical example : I had to get admittance to a certain official while I was in Belgrade. There seemed to be a lot of difficulty in allowing me to pass ; after all, this was quite understandable seeing that I was in Serbia so soon after the

assassination of King Alexander and all foreigners were looked upon with a certain amount of suspicion, and the Serb is nothing if not suspicious. So I went up to a soldier who seemed to be on guard outside and showed him a letter, which was really a letter of introduction. He went to a lot of trouble to find out if I could be admitted and made no end of inquiries. Finally, after about a quarter of an hour he returned all smiling with the results of his efforts and told me I could follow him. On my leaving the building, over an hour later, the same soldier was downstairs waiting to greet me with a salute and a smile. "Hullo," thought I, "this calls for a little baksheesh!" as I took out a bank-note which, although it sounded an awful lot of dinars worked out at about five shillings in our own money. Now five shillings to a Serbian soldier represents about a month's pay. He refused it. There was no making him accept it, even as a favour; there was nobody else about, so he could not have been afraid of being observed and reported for doing so. As I had an unopened packet of English cigarettes in my pocket I offered this to him. Now if there is one thing that a Balkan inhabitant likes it is English cigarettes. He would not accept that either. So I concluded that he did not smoke and left it at that. I crossed the street and went to a café almost opposite. What was my surprise to see that same soldier smoking a cigarette! I mentioned this incident to some English and Germans later in the week and they both agreed that the Serbs cannot be bribed. Probably this very fact leads to a certain amount of friction that in other countries would be overcome by a little golden pressure. This incorruptibility of theirs added to their unyielding obstinacy doubtless contrives to make things more difficult for the Hungarians than otherwise would have been the case. In fact the Hungarians admitted to me, in Budapest, that the Roumanians were easier to manage because they could be bribed. They also admitted that the Serbs could not. However, I will deal with Roumania later on.

One of the complaints levelled against the Serbs is

that they have deprived the Hungarian landlords of their estates. This to a certain extent is perfectly true. But it is necessary to examine the whole case and not only the Hungarian version. The truth is that all the large estates have been broken up, according to the promise of Agrarian Reform that King Peter gave his people during the War and during the exile of the Serbian army. Whether the lands belonged to Hungarians, to Croats, to Slovenes or to Serbians they were broken up into smallholdings so that the peasantry should become small proprietors. However, as the Hungarians, principally, were the great landlords, they naturally were the most to suffer. But the Agrarian Reform was not a law brought into force to deprive Hungarians, in especial, of their lands, because some of those very lands belonging to the great Hungarian landlords, when they were split up, were given to other Hungarians—formerly peasants once serving great latifundian landlords. The Government made no rule that Serb farmers only were to have the smallholdings. So that really the Hungarians have no more to complain about than the Croat, Slovene or the Serbian landlords themselves. If these lands had been taken from great Hungarian landlords and given to great Serbian landlords, they might have had a real grievance. But they were not; everybody was treated alike, and the Hungarians were not singled out in any shape or form for special treatment in this matter of the Agrarian Reform.

I took great trouble to examine the complaints of harshness made by the Hungarians against the Serbs. I was informed that the statement that they could not become officers was entirely false, that every Yugoslavian, no matter from what part he may hail, whether of Hungarian origin or not, who had studied at a university or had taken higher studies of any description was expected to become an officer of the reserve. There was no difficulty about a Magyar becoming an officer in Yugoslavia. They would be admitted to the very highest ranks, but their system of non-cô-operation, worked from Budapest, keeps them away from the Cadet School.

It is not Belgrade but Budapest that keeps them away. Not only can the Hungarians become officers in the Jugoslavian army, but the Mussulmans can as well. In fact there are several higher officers, even staff-officers, who are Mussulmans. With regard to functionaries, Hungarians are not only permitted to occupy official posts, but actually hundreds of them were Magyars, and there were Magyar police as well. With regard to military service, entire regiments of Hungarians serve together. Generally a regiment of soldiers do not serve in their own district, but they are moved from one end of Jugoslavia to the other. My informants stated that this was not done out of any intention of moving the Hungarians, in particular, from their own surroundings, but it was the same for all regiments, no matter from what part they came: Slovenes, Croats, Germans, Hungarians *or Serbs*. The idea was that by moving about they would become better acquainted with their Fatherland as a whole than if they always lived in their own village. The more they see the more they want to see of the country to which they belong. This was the system not only in Jugoslavia, but in all nations that possessed a military service based on conscription: France, Spain, Italy, Russia, Poland—everywhere.

The Hungarians can have their own social clubs and societies if they want to. At one time they had a great many which used to be very prosperous and beneficial, but as they were being used as centres of anti-Jugoslavian propaganda not only by Budapest but also by the Hungarians of Jugoslavia, they merely fomented a spirit of discontent amongst an otherwise perfectly contented part of the community. As long as they were being used as centres of culture and amusement they were never interfered with, but when they began to be used as bases for political disturbances, with the intention of undermining the stability of the State, several of them had to be closed down. The Hungarians are allowed to have all the literary matter they need, provided it is not of an anti-Jugoslavian character. There are seventeen Hungarian newspapers and periodicals published in

Jugoslavia alone. One Hungarian newspaper I saw is printed in Soubotitz. It costs two dinar, that is about twopence, and the name of it is *Napló*. It contains thirty-six pages ; it has a woman's and a children's section, and plenty of international news, and its circulation is about a hundred thousand. I have another newspaper in front of me, entirely in Hungarian, printed in Sombor. It has more the appearance of an evening paper. It has plenty of political and international news. It contains eight pages and is sold at half a dinar, or about a half-penny. The name of this paper is *uj Hírek*. Seventeen newspapers for half a million Hungarian-speaking population is a much bigger proportion, I should imagine, than you would find under similar conditions even in England, which is one of the greatest newspaper-reading countries in the world. As for books in Hungarian, there seemed to be plenty of these also. But you surely cannot expect the Serbs to allow Hungarian history and geography books to enter their country when those very books still treat the Successor States as usurpers and teach that the lost lands still belong to Hungary, vilifying in every way possible the glorious epics of the Serbian nation and the efforts that that valiant race has made for betterment and progress.

The Serbs admit quite frankly that the Germans get much better treatment than the Hungarians, but they state that they never had, until recently, any trouble with their Germans, who were good and faithful citizens of Jugoslavia. It is quite true that with the rise of Hitler some sort of edict was issued from Berlin about their adhesion to the Nazi regime, and they formed Nazi societies and walked through the streets in Nazi formation with Swastika banners flying. But when the authorities forbade these societies there was no further trouble, and there was no outcry amongst the Germans of Jugoslavia about the ban on Naziism. If "Budapest and their hirelings," I was told, "would only leave our Hungarians alone there would be no trouble at all and no need to make any difference. The Germans of Jugoslavia are rich, happy and prosperous, and our Hungarians would be

quite as settled and happy if Budapest would stop stirring them up and causing trouble."

Funnily enough, Budapest admits this. They admit that the Germans are much better treated than the Hungarians in Yugoslavia because the Germans behave as good citizens. They further admit quite frankly that the Serbs would not mete out different treatment to the Hungarians if it were not for the constant agitation on the part of the Hungarian intellectuals. But they say they must keep this up, otherwise they will lose every hope of ever regaining their lost lands. They even confess that they carry on in Roumania much worse than they dare do with Serbia, because the Roumanians are much more tolerant and easy-going. They have to behave themselves where the Serbians are concerned, because of the three Successor States, Yugoslavia, Roumania and Czechoslovakia, the Serbs are the ones of whom they are most afraid and consequently Yugoslavia is the country where the Hungarian minorities are the best behaved. This is openly confessed in Budapest by the Hungarians themselves.

With regard to the charge that the Hungarians are sold up to pay their taxes, while the Serbs are not, the Serbs admit that this is quite true, but there are reasons for it. The Serb would like to give the same treatment to his Hungarians, as to his Germans, his Croats, his Slovenes or his fellow-Serbs, but he cannot. The non-payment of taxes is another form of Hungarian passive resistance. It is not in the large majority of cases that they have not the money to pay, but just a matter of non-co-operation and interference with the smooth running of the State as much as possible.

"We have found," I was told, "time after time, that resistance to payment was only done to make the burden of the collectors more onerous and tiresome. After sufficient pressure was put on, the money was always paid. It came to such a pass that it took ten times as much work to collect taxes from the Hungarians as from any other section of Yugoslavians—so in the end we decided that when Hungarians did not pay after a reasonable time

they were to be sold up without more ado. There was no other way of dealing with them. Now, we do not have so much trouble in gathering in our taxes. It is no use blaming us for singling out the Hungarians in this way : blame Budapest."

What the Hungarians say about their not being allowed to have private or confessional schools is also quite true. Not only are there no private or confessional schools for the Hungarians, but there are none even for the Serbs.

"We have introduced our Government schools where the pupils receive the education that the Government thinks most likely to promote good for the State. For all inhabitants alike. No special community has been singled out. Even our Mussulmans attend our State schools and there is no objection, and if anybody had the right to object, surely it should be the Mussulmans.

"The Hungarians would like people to think that it was an attack on their religion, because the Hungarians are Catholics, but so are the Croats and the Slovenes, and they show no sign of being dissatisfied. Furthermore, for the Hungarians, the whole of the primary school education is given in the Hungarian language. We even favour the Hungarians in one instance : we have opened a special teachers' training college for secondary education, for Hungarian teachers, paid by the Jugoslavian Government. But the Hungarians, here again, refuse to co-operate, so that we are obliged to give them teachers, for the secondary schools, who are not Hungarians. The Germans, and the others, pay for their own teachers' secondary training."

With regard to the Hungarian complaint that the Government is entirely centralized ; that the majority of local councils are nominated and not elected, and that the system of government is not democratic, the Serbs freely admit that this is the case, and it is one of the mistakes that a very young country has made. And there is every excuse, in their lack of experience, for their having made the mistake. But the very accusation that is being levelled against the Serbs should also be levelled

at the Government of Budapest. The Hungarian Government itself is far less democratic than the Jugoslavian. Local government is thrown on one side *altogether* in Hungary.

“We are going to try to adopt some sort of democratic system as soon as our interior administration is put on a better footing, but the Hungarians have no intention whatsoever of making a move in that direction. So why are the Hungarians complaining about our being undemocratic when their own system is much worse? It is just to make an impression on foreign public opinion and discredit us. As for changing the examination subjects for the Matriculation, that charge is absurd. All the papers are the same for the whole country, seeing that it enjoys one system of education and one standard of education, up to and including the secondary school. The civil servants who distribute these papers do not even know what part of the country they are going to. If there are German, Hungarian and Serbian schools, all in the same district, as there often are, or a mixed school of Germans, Hungarians and Serbians, they all use the same papers; so how could they be specially selected for the Hungarians?”

With regard to the curtailing of commercial relations with the Hungarian banks of Budapest, this had to be done to put a stop to the manipulation of Jugoslavian money that had become so dangerous. The dinar is a good strong currency, as Jugoslavia has no exterior debts of any consequence and very few interior ones. Nevertheless, the dinar was being manipulated to such an extent that its rapid fall would have endangered the welfare of the State if it had not been stopped. But Jugoslavia is not the only country that controls financial transaction with foreign banks. Germany, Spain, Italy and several other great countries do, so why should the name of Jugoslavia be singled out in this instance, except for propaganda purposes. However no mention is made of the fact that in Belgrade there is an open market for buying and selling national and foreign money, without the production of any kind of documents whatsoever, the like of which

does not exist in Hungary. Any person can buy and sell national and foreign money quite freely and without obstacles of any description, albeit, when it comes to high finance, involving large sums which are required to be negotiated by drafts, cheques or other bank documents, then the transaction has to be sanctioned by the authorities. "We have had to take measures to put a stop to the manipulation of our currency which was being done, to a large extent by the Budapest banks, although the Budapest banks were not singled out for this special regulation *which is enforced for all foreign banks*. So what special right have the Hungarians to protest if England, France and America do not complain? Hungary, as a nation, is just as foreign to us as any other foreign nation, so why should the Hungarian banks expect special treatment? Furthermore, the open market of Belgrade for negotiating national or foreign currency is a greater financial privilege than even many of the great nations possess to-day."

I may say here that I left England a confirmed revisionist. I went to the Balkans not because I was at all doubtful about the revision of the Treaty of Trianon, but because I could find no Jugoslavian or Roumanian statistics from any reliable source. I wanted to strengthen still more my firm belief in the necessity of revision. When I left Budapest I was more convinced than ever that the Treaty of Trianon was an absolute crime against Hungary. It was only when I got to Belgrade and found out a few things which surprised me that my conviction received its first shock. Since then I have received shock after shock until I returned to England a complete anti-revisionist, at least as far as Jugoslavia and Roumania are concerned. It is quite true that there are a number of things I should like to see altered, but they are of an internal administrative character and have nothing whatsoever to do with the Treaty of Trianon. The Jugoslavs are fulfilling their obligations towards their minorities in every sense of the word. There is no possible comparison, all things considered, between the way the Serbians are treating their present Hungarian minorities

and the way the Hungarians treated their Serbian minorities prior to 1914.

Before the War, the Hungarians treated the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as an altogether inferior people, in every sense of the word. The Hungarians are very free to-day in calling the Croats and Slovenes people of a superior culture to the Serbs, but they certainly did not do so when these peoples belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It suits their propaganda to do so now. The Hungarians, even to-day, do not treat their Jugoslavian minorities with anything like the consideration that the Serbs show to their Hungarian minorities. Before the War even these very Hungarian peasants, who now form a Jugoslavian minority, were not nearly so well treated as they are to-day. Now the great latifundian estates have been broken up, so that every peasant can become a small landlord if he wants to, no matter whether he be Serb, Croat, Slovene, German or Magyar; this is not only in theory but also in practice. I have taken a considerable amount of trouble to go into the matter, and I cannot find that the information given me by the Serbian authorities is false or deceptive in any way. I am afraid I cannot say the same thing about the Hungarian versions. I found, as far as my inquiries and observations went that with the possible exception of the Bulgarian minority, the minorities in Jugoslavia were quite happy and contented. Even the Hungarian minority, in spite of all this agitation from Budapest, showed a very pretty demonstration of fidelity to the new State to which they owe allegiance on the occasion of the funeral of King Alexander. Over a thousand of these people actually attended the burial, at Oplenac, paying all their own expenses. Some of them had to go hundreds of miles by train to be able to attend the ceremony. They were under the care of Dr. Szantos Gabor, who is himself a member of the Hungarian minority. He is a doctor in Soubotitza, as was his father before him, when it was part of Hungary. He actually served in the Hungarian army as an officer during the War. He also formerly belonged to that circle of intellectuals whose object it was to stir

up trouble and make things difficult for the government of Belgrade. His name to-day is anathema in Budapest. They call him a traitor and a turncoat.

I asked him what made him leave the Magyar intellectuals and become an advocate for the other side. He told me that the policy of making things difficult was not doing the poor Hungarian minority any good and was only hardening the Serbs against their Magyar subjects. It would be much better to try to work with the Government of Belgrade and to endeavour to get the full benefit of the advantages that this change of policy might produce. He saw no reason why the Magyar minority should not be treated the same as the German minority if they behaved themselves in the same sensible way as the Germans do.

I spoke about this conversation to some very highly placed Jugoslavian officials and they told me that there was absolutely nothing wrong at heart with their Hungarian minority and they did not want to make any difference in the treatment accorded to either the Serbs or any of the minorities. But they must have peace within their borders. "Then why do you not send these *Intellectual* disturbers of the peace back to Hungary?" I asked. "We cannot," they replied; "you see, by the Treaty of Trianon they have become Jugoslavian citizens, so that we cannot force them to leave Jugoslavia. On the other hand, if we just clapped them into prison that would be playing into the hands of Budapest, because they would raise such an outcry, that the rest of Europe would think we were behaving like people in the Middle Ages. But if those agitators were living in any other part of the world, they would have given them very short shrift."

In speaking to Dr. Szantos Gabor I found he does not hide the fact that he has remained in Jugoslavia and become a Jugoslavian citizen against his will, because his living is there. He is a Magyar at heart, and he loves Hungary. But now that he has become a Jugoslavian, and his hearth and home is in Jugoslavia, it is much better to make the best of things and, at least, to try to improve the lot of his poorer brethren by giving them an example

of good citizenship, rather than keeping alive in them the idea that by continually creating difficulties for the Belgrade Government they are helping to return these lands to Hungary. He has made himself hated in Budapest because he has chosen to break away from the non-co-operators, but the future will show that he was right in doing so.

It is no use misleading these poor deluded people by making them believe that they are going to gain anything by opposing the will of Belgrade. Yugoslavia is their new country and they have to work and gain their livelihoods within the boundaries of this country. Only by freely co-operating can they hope to gain the goodwill of the other Yugoslavians and prosper as the other minority-people of Yugoslavia are doing. Dr. Szantos Gabor told me that his feelings are with those poor people who are suffering for the wrongs that they have not committed and are not committing. As he is one of their leaders, his duty as he sees it is to try to do the best he can for his people even if he is proscribed by Budapest as a traitor.

I also had several interviews with members and leaders of the other minorities. The Germans are quite satisfied with their new conditions. Some of the Germans I met who belonged to Hungary before the War stated that they would much prefer to carry on as at present than as they were living under Hungary. At least, now, they do know where they are, but before the War there was far too much political exploitation in playing off one minority against the other. Now all people are treated alike whether they are real Serbs or Successor minorities. They have their own language, their own schools, their own religions and so long as they behave themselves they are as well off as they can possibly expect to be, all things considered. They would not like to return to Hungary.

And it must be admitted that the Germans are really very well off in Yugoslavia. They have their own schools and they live their lives just as if they were in Germany. Their shops are German shops and their outlook on life is really a German outlook. There is no interference at all with their German way of living. The Hungarians admit

that the Germans are good and faithful citizens and the Serbs know that they can trust them—that is why they are so well treated. And they equally admit that if the Magyar minority only settled down under the Serbs in the same way they would be equally well-treated and equally well-off.

I went into the question of the Mussulman minority with one of their leaders: Dr. Smail-aga Cemalovic. He informed me that the Mussulman population have every religious and political freedom. Economically they are better off than ever before, even under the present world-slump conditions. There are about a million and a half Mussulmans in Yugoslavia to-day. They have actually had a Minister of the Crown who was a Mussulman, and a Vice-President. A Mussulman, Ali Contervic, was for over ten years Court Captain, and the Mussulmans have had two Orientalist professors on the General Staff of a Yugoslavian University. A large proportion of the Mussulmans are pure Serbs, who formerly belonged to Turkey and the present-day Yugoslavia seems to be as tolerant on the question of religion as the most liberal nations in the world. In fact I have obtained an official report from Angora about their minorities in other countries, and there certainly is no complaint of victimization or terrorization against Yugoslavia.

The Turkish Government do state, in their report, that taxes are high and that the Turkish minority was affected by the Agrarian Reform. But these are things that cannot be considered as measures taken against a minority, as all the peoples of Yugoslavia receive the same treatment, and it is no harsher for one section than for another.

The last minority to be considered is the Bulgarian. The Bulgarians and the Serbs are brothers of the same race, so that the trouble between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia would have all the aspects of a family affair if it were not for outside interference. The intense hatred that Italy harbours for Yugoslavia has already been pointed out. Italy looks upon Yugoslavia as a usurper in the Adriatic. Any harm that Italy could do the Serbs she would relish.

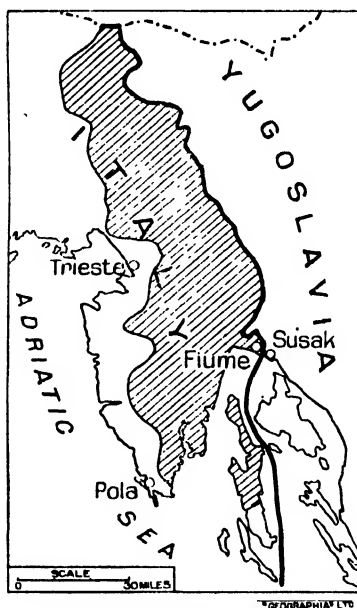
She would have been at grips with Yugoslavia ages ago, had it not been for France's protection of the Little Entente. Albeit this protection given by the French is purely a politico-military outflanking of Germany. The Little Entente is an alliance of the Successor States—Roumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia—who have lined up together to prevent any revision of the Treaty



HUNGARY AND "THE LITTLE ENTENTE"

of Trianon on the one hand, and on the other, to resist any attack against any one of them, or all of them, in which Hungary may be concerned. Moreover, within the Italian Kingdom, coterminous with the Yugoslavian frontier, there are well over half a million Croats and Slovenes whom Italy is striving to Italianize. Naturally these Croats and Slovenes are apt to look upon Yugoslavia as their natural mother-country which will, probably, some day lead to trouble.

But not only did Italy obtain possession of this purely Croat-Slovene territory by the Peace Treaties but she also obtained possession of thirteen purely Greek islands, known as the Dodecanese—the name implies *twelve*—which are Rhodes, Cos, Patmos, Lipso, Kalymnos, Leros, Nisyros, Tilos, Karchi, Symi, Astypalæa, Karpathos, Casos.¹ There is nothing whatsoever Italian about these islands. They are all purely Greek.



JUGOSLAVS IN ITALY

Before Greece itself was Greek these islands were Greek. But for some curious reason or other Italy laid claim to these islands. Goodness only knows for what reason but, there you are, Italy is funny that way. For hundreds of years the Dodecanese belonged to Turkey, but during the Turco-Italian War of 1912, they were occupied by the Italian fleet. It so happened that the Young Turks were threatening to deprive the islands of certain privileges they had held up to the Revolution of 1908, so that when

¹ The spelling and order are taken from *The Statesman's Year Book*.

Italy declared war on Turkey in 1912 the inhabitants of the Dodecanese sided against the Young Turks, on the Italian promise to obtain their freedom for them from Turkey. However, by the Treaty of Lausanne, in October of 1912, Italy gave her undertaking to Turkey to hand back the Dodecanese to her as soon as Turkey had evacuated Libya. But, in the meantime, the Balkan nations, including Greece, had declared war on Turkey, and Greece could have occupied the Dodecanese with her fleet, just as Italy had done, if they had been handed back to Turkey, as agreed. It would even have been easier for Greece, because the islanders were their fellow countrymen and would have been only too pleased to welcome their brothers ; so there would have been little opposition from that quarter. Under the circumstances the Italians decided to sit tight in spite of their promises and in spite of our own Foreign Minister—Sir Edward Grey—making a speech in the House of Commons against the occupation of these Greek Islands by the Italians.

In the meantime the Great War broke out and we were far too anxious to get Italy to come in on our side even to broach the subject of the Dodecanese. However, as the War progressed, or did not progress, in order to secure Italy as an ally, one of the concessions made was that she should retain the Dodecanese. That was in May of 1915. But the Italians' entry into the War did not produce the victories we were expecting from such a large addition of soldiers and military music, so we began looking round for a few more allies ; especially as Bulgaria had decided to enter the War against us in October of the same year. That being the case, we all had a talk with Mr. Venizelos—yes, the one who has just had a little revolution of his own¹—and offered him the Dodecanese, for Greece, if he would only bring in Greece, or a part of Greece, on our side. The War had reached a state when we were willing to offer anybody their own or anyone else's property if they would only come in on our side, either in one lump or by instalments. The outcome of it was that it was agreed, by the Treaty of

¹ See page 188.

Sèvres, August, 1920, that Greece was to have the Dodecanese, by instalments, and she was even to get the British possession of Cyprus. Meanwhile the Allies were all going to take a bite at Turkey. France was going to have a sphere, Italy was going to have the district and hinterland of Adalia, Greece was going to have the Smyrna neighbourhood and England was going to sit on the Dardanelles, occupy Constantinople and look after what Greece was supposed to be occupying: as Greece is one of those peculiar types of countries that England specializes in guiding. Well, things seemed to be progressing so well with the split-up of Turkey that the Allies thought that they might just as well keep themselves in practice by quarrelling a bit amongst themselves.

About this time France and England were not getting along any too well. Business in France was booming whereas, in England, we were going through the evils incidental to a great slump. Lloyd George wanted to get business and his opinion was that we could only do this by getting general peace all over Europe and, principally, by coming to some agreement with Bolshevik Russia. France, on the other hand, could only think in terms of security and military alliances; France could not forget Russian debts and property owned by foreigners in Russia, especially French foreigners. There was no making peace between Bolshevik Russia and France until these were recognized. At the critical moment, Lloyd George and the French Premier, Monsieur Briand, thought they would have a game of golf. That was the end of Briand. What a row there was in Paris about Briand's tame little game of golf! His place was taken by Poincaré. Things were becoming more difficult than ever. That game of golf unsettled Europe for very many months to come. Poincaré was ten times more difficult to get along with than Briand ever was. The French policy was anything but a peace policy. England wanted peace and trade. The French wanted the military domination of Europe. So Lloyd George thought he would try an independent course at Genoa, without France, regardless of political consequences. But the

French were not going to swallow their setback so easily. They were going to get their own back as soon as they got their chance. Their chance for avenging Genoa on Lloyd George came when the Greek Army was defeated on the Sakharía River. When England wanted French help against Turkey, that help was not forthcoming.

Then Turkey turned round and upset the whole apple-cart by chucking the Greek army out of Asia Minor and burning Smyrna. One of the richest and most beautiful cities in the world was reduced to ashes. One of the wondrous jewels of the Mediterranean was lost to the world in a night. An emporium of silk, cotton, wool, opium, copper, olive oil, drugs, gums, figs, sponges, madder, raisins, valonia, precious perfumes, art foundries and damask tanneries was destroyed by fire. A city of over half a million people, the seat of three archbishoprics, was reduced to housing a few hundreds, in a week. The Turks had done their job well and in a few months Kemal Pasha was leading his routed Turkish troops to victory everywhere. A conference was held at Mudana in October of 1922, between the Allies and the Turks, and we were all glad to get out of Turkey. That is what happens when Prime Ministers try to put one over on each other.

Meanwhile Venizelos and his government had fallen so that Italy did not see any reason for keeping her promise about giving the Dodecanese to Greece, after all; and Greece was far too busy looking after her refugees from Asia Minor and coping with other troubles to worry about insisting on her rights. In October of 1922, our Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, insisted on the Dodecanese being transferred to Greece as promised and the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Sforza, reminded Britain that we had also entered into an undertaking to return Cyprus to these selfsame Greeks. The following week, the 21st October, 1922, Mussolini marched on Rome, and so the Dodecanese have remained Italian. On the 24th July, 1923, Turkey signed the Peace Treaty of Lausanne with the Allies by means of which Mussolini added insult to injury by obtaining recognition of Italy's

right to another Greek island: Castellosso. So that the Dodecanese instead of comprising twelve islands, as the name suggests, now actually consists of fourteen. What a pity the Isle of Wight is so far away!

In order to keep the Dodecanese, Italy thinks she ought to be continually quarrelling with the Greeks, and she never misses a chance of landing Greece one whenever she can find a way of doing so. The disaster of Smyrna would, probably, not have happened if Italy had only played the game; the result was that all the Allies lost their gains in Asia Minor, Italy included. But Italy is jealous of Greek development in the Mediterranean under England's wing. Turkey also felt none too safe with Mussolini at the Italian helm, and Asia Minor none too far away for a surprise air and naval attack from Italy.

All this rough handling has driven Greece, Jugoslavia, Roumania and Turkey to form what is known as the Balkan Pact. It is a pact in which the Balkan nations agree that they recognize each others' frontiers and that they are prepared to defend those frontiers collectively, if called upon to do so on account of any aggression from any outside source.

Bulgaria refused to sign the Balkan Pact, although invited to do so. Bulgaria wants a revision of the Treaty of Neuilly, by means of which her frontiers were fixed after the Great War. The Treaty was formally signed between Bulgaria and the Allies on the 27th November, 1919. By the Treaty of Neuilly the Bulgarians lost their port on the Ægean Sea, Dedeagach, and certain other territories which are essentially Bulgarian were given to Greece and Jugoslavia. There was no need for this latter transfer, but it was made; such is the price of defeat. Turkey also possesses a strip of territory which is almost entirely Bulgarian and which Bulgaria, in the first Balkan war, spilt her blood freely to capture. This territory contains Adrianople, Kirkilissa and Lili Burgas. Three towns which bore the names of epic battles and which Bulgaria suffered terrible losses to win. Bulgaria refused to sign the Balkan Pact, because if she did so she would be signing what are really Bulgarian territories

away for ever, and recognizing them as belonging to Turkey, Greece and Jugoslavia. The result is that there is continual friction between Bulgaria and the signatories of the Balkan Pact. The acts of violence of the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee are too well known to need repeating. For over fifteen years the frontier between Bulgaria and Jugoslavia was practically closed. All sorts of repressions and reprisals were carried out against one another. This condition of things just suited Italy. She had been badly hit by the Balkan Pact. Before it was



THE BALKAN PACT

made Italy could harass first one and then the other of the Balkan nations. She could bring the whole of her influence and weight to bear whenever it suited her; but with the signing of the Pact an altogether different state of affairs has been brought about.

Roumania, Turkey, Jugoslavia and Greece together number about fifty millions, and amongst them there are some of the finest fighting men in the world. They can no longer be played with, and they do not intend to submit to treatment such as they formerly received. This new state of affairs in no way suits Italy's plans. She had begun to look upon the Balkans as her future happy hunting-ground, and the Balkan Pact has knocked the ground

from under her feet, but in the Macedonian troubles she has seen an opportunity. Much of the unrest has been directly fomented by Italy. The Macedonian Revolutionary Committee has been egged on to acts of violence by the Italian High Command. A lot of the trouble between Bulgaria and the countries who have taken her territories, Greece and Jugoslavia, could have been straightened out if the parties had been left to themselves, but the Bulgarians were instigated to acts of violence. By keeping these frontier questions for ever alive, friction is never allowed to cease, and this prevents the nations affected from getting down to the solid works of peace and putting their houses in order. They are always distrustful of each other, always hating each other.

In such conditions, nation easily becomes incensed with nation to such a degree as to jeopardise peace. That is the condition of affairs that just suits Italy. Italy has no interest in the Balkans settling their affairs peaceably. The more desperate conditions in the Balkans become, the easier it will be for her to intervene, and Bulgaria is one of the tools through which she is working at present. There is no doubt at all that this last trouble in Greece was caused by the Italians. The very fact that Venizelos first took refuge in Italian territory proves it. Undoubtedly he expected the Bulgarians to help the revolutionaries by making a bid to recover the Bulgarian territories which Greece possesses. But Turkey, true to her agreement, warned Bulgaria that any interference in Greek affairs would cause the Turks to intervene. So the whole plan was frustrated and the revolution petered out. Its failure may be the precursor of an entire change in the Balkan situation. If it has taught Bulgaria that there is nothing to be gained by continuing to be the tool of Rome and Budapest, it may bring about a change in her attitude to the other Balkan nations, and this, with a certain amount of give and take on their part may close one of the most barbaric chapters in the history of Europe.

With regard to the present frontiers of Jugoslavia and

Hungary there is not very much that can be altered. It must be remembered that these frontiers were delineated by an international commission which included representatives of nations very amiably disposed towards Hungary, amongst whom was one Power definitely opposed to any aggrandisement on the part of Jugoslavia. So that the commission in deciding the new boundaries dividing Hungary from Jugoslavia were not



THE MAGYAR TRIANGLE

likely to neglect Hungary's interests, but would more probably watch over them. In reading the statistics supplied by Budapest, one is led to believe, without actually being told so, that in a great many districts on the Yugoslav side of the new border the Magyar inhabitants are in the majority; whereas, really, there is only one very small territory along the whole frontier between Jugoslavia and Hungary, where the Magyar element is

overwhelmingly in the majority. I am referring to the triangle formed by a line drawn through Maria Theresiopel-Topolya-Obesce-Ada-Zenta-Okanizsa. In this territory the Magyars outnumber the others by about 70 per cent. But in no other part of the frontier is the Magyar element totally in the majority, and, if you take the whole geographical district of which this triangle forms a part—Banat, Batchka, Baranya—you will find that the Hungarians are greatly outnumbered. In the whole district there are about 650,000 Jugoslavs, 300,000 Germans and 400,000 Magyars, without counting other national elements which amount to about 75,000. So that by far the greatest minority are the Jugoslavs with 650,000.

Naturally, if you add all the others together, as the Hungarian statistics often do, the Jugoslavs are outnumbered. And the Hungarians often frame their statistics in a very cunning way. Supposing, for example, there is a district in which there is a mixed population of 45 per cent Jugoslavian, 20 per cent German and 30 per cent Hungarian, you are not actually given these details but you are told that the Jugoslavian element is a minority element, which it is if you add the others together, and you naturally suppose that the majority element is the Hungarian; whereas, in reality, the Jugoslavian is the largest minority by far. At other times the Slav element in a district is split up into Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, to make a German or Magyar minority appear relatively larger. Again, very often the Hungarians give you to understand that the German minority should really be reckoned in the Magyar totals so as to give the semblance of a Hungarian majority. But the fact of the matter remains that there is only this one small triangle that I have mentioned in which the Hungarians are overwhelmingly in the majority.

I asked the Serbian officials if it would not be fair to return this preponderatingly Magyar territory to Hungary and thus put Jugoslavia in the position to affirm to the whole world that she wants to do the right thing, even to the nation who has shown herself to be her

bitterest enemy. They replied that the Treaty of Trianon cannot be altered. They said to me: "Tell England that we are not prepared to surrender one inch of territory without being forced to do so by the sword. The whole of the Yugoslavian nation is united on that score. Between 1912 and 1918 we lost over half of our manhood. Boys of twelve fought alongside men of eighty for the unity of all the Yugoslav peoples. Women and girls fought and suffered alongside our men. In the Great War, for a time, we alone faced the onslaught, whilst the rest of Europe was haggling over our destiny. Right from the beginning of the Austrian attack, in July of 1914, up to the entry of the Bulgarians into the War, in October of 1915, we kept the armies of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at bay. We were eventually deprived of every inch of our territory, attacked on every side by the might of Germany, united with the armies of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. But still we fought on. We never surrendered nor did we retreat in flight. During the whole of the War we did not lose a single banner. We did not require French and English regiments to be rushed to the scene of flight to stem the chaos, but we stood our ground, thereby giving the other Allies an example of how a fighting nation defends itself. And do not forget that it was our resistance that brought about the collapse of Bulgaria, and with her collapse came the breakdown of Turkey as an ally of the Central Powers. That frontier was drawn up by an international commission and agreed to by the Treaty of Trianon. To alter it will mean war."

"Then can you make any reasonable proposal, so as to wipe out this disparity?" I inquired. "Yes," they replied, "we can do the same as the Turks and Greeks have done with such proven success. There are still some strips of territory inhabited by 90,000 of our people on the Magyar side of the Hungarian frontier. We will exchange our people for theirs. The rest of their population we will allow them to take freely, if there is not enough of our people left to effect the whole conversion." I told the Serb officials that I had already made that

suggestion in Budapest, but the Hungarians would not hear of it, because it would be tantamount to their renouncing the territory for always.

"Well," was the reply, "if the Hungarians do not want to listen to a perfectly reasonable proposal, it is their affair. The fact of the matter is that they do not want a settlement. Once the matter is settled they will have no more excuse left for continually causing unrest in our country by the machinations of their political propaganda bureau."

That is as far as I could get with regard to the northern frontier between Yugoslavia and Hungary.

However, the Yugoslav-Bulgarian frontier is a totally different matter, because this frontier not only concerns the Serbs but their Allies, the Greeks, as well. There is a very large Bulgarian population both in the south of Yugoslavia and the north of Greece. Besides that there is a large element which is neither Serb nor Bulgar, but a mixture of both: the Shops. The Shops speak a language which has affinities with both the Bulgarian and the Serbian. Pašić, who was one of the greatest patriots any country ever had, and a statesman of European fame, was several times Prime Minister of Serbia, and he was a Shop. The Shops occupy a territory between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and are claimed by the Serbians to be Serbs and by the Bulgarians to be Bulgarians.

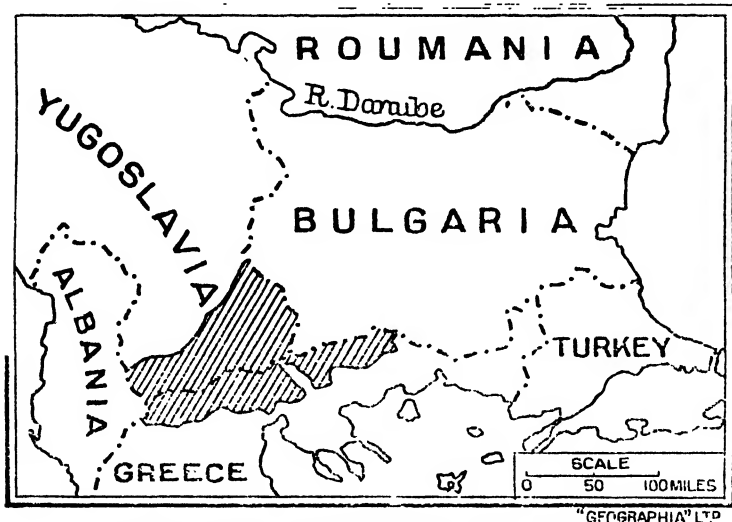
Now, as a language expert, the only distinction I can make between the peoples of Europe is the difference of language. I have tried to prove in my book, *The Influence of English*,¹ that language is the only factor of any importance that constitutes among nations either a binding link or a dividing line. The peoples who speak French are French, those who speak German are German and so forth. I cannot admit any question of race, religion or any other characteristic when trying to solve the outstanding ethnographical difficulties that I am trying to face in this book. If anything were wanted to prove this fact, then the Balkans are surely the best

¹ Williams and Norgate, 1934.

evidence of it. The Balkans, in parts, are just one unholy mish-mash of race, origin, ethnology, religion and language. It is no good trying to sift things out, because it is impossible. You can only take language as a deciding factor. You have Turks that cannot speak a word of Turkish ; Albanians who can only speak Serbian ; Serbs who cannot speak any Serbian ; Greeks who cannot speak Greek but who can speak almost any other language in the Balkans. Jews who can only speak Spanish. Jews who are not Jews, but Mohammedans. Serbs who are Protestant, Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Jewish—not Jews, but really Serbs. Bulgarians who cannot speak Bulgarian and Roumanians who cannot speak Roumanian. People who can only speak German, although their ancestors have been living in the Balkans for the past three hundred years. You can find families intermarried with every religion and every race or nationality in the Balkans, and getting along very well together at that. You even have Asiatics living on the outskirts of Belgrade who are really native to the soil. Right in the middle of Roumania, hundreds of miles away from the Hungarian frontier, you have Magyars who only speak Hungarian, and Bulgarians who only speak Turkish. While, on the Black Sea, covering Constanza, the most important Roumanian port, and one of the greatest granaries in the world, there is actually a colony of Tartars, who hail from the Far Eastern republic of Chita, which is situated between Mongolia, Manchukuo and Eastern Siberia. It is not a bit of good to use any method of national distinction except the actual language spoken by the inhabitants of the districts under consideration. I know that the Hungarians introduce a series of pseudo-scientific-cultural-ethnographic-linguistic proofs of their claims, but really the only standard of any value at all is, I repeat, language. Other considerations introduce innumerable complications which no human being could ever unravel, and they must be ignored.

With regard to the territory we are now examining, I have already pointed out that there is a very large slice

shared by Yugoslavia and Greece which is Bulgarian. Neither the Greeks nor the Serbians deny this. Part of it was taken from Bulgaria after the Second Balkan war, and part after the Great War, by the Treaty of Neuilly. Now nobody expects Bulgaria ever to renounce this territory. There is no reason for it to remain either Greek or Yugoslavian except treaties of conquest, and some way should be found to settle this matter, otherwise if Europe finds itself at war again, and the Little Entente and Greece in the throes of that struggle, they can be sure of finding



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Bulgaria in the opposite camp, and this can be as disastrous in the next conflagration as it was in the last. So that the best thing would be to get Bulgaria on the side of the Balkan nations before it is too late, and the only way to do that will be by removing the extreme bitterness the Bulgarian nation feels about their brothers beyond the Bulgarian frontiers, of whom there are over a million in the Macedonias allotted to Yugoslavia and Greece after their successful wars against the Bulgars between 1912 and 1918.¹ But knowing the Balkan nations as I do know them it is useless to expect Jugo-

¹ *Publication de la Dotation Carnegie, Paris.*

slavia and Greece to return these Bulgarian territories to Bulgaria without being forced to do so or without some very good compensatory benefit. I therefore suggested that they should try to bring about some sort of federation between Bulgaria and Jugoslavia which would benefit both sides. It would certainly benefit Jugoslavia, because she would then be able to count upon the Bulgarian market as an outlet for the Croatian industrial produce which is at present very badly off for want of markets.

In the old days, when Croatia was a part of Austria-Hungary, Croatian products had an empire of forty-five millions to feed upon ; now it only forms part of a nation of about fifteen millions, with all the rest of the world trying to assert its own particular species of nationalism. This fusion of interests between Jugoslavia and Bulgaria would make a nation of over twenty million inhabitants, or nearly equal to Spain, and territories covering 352,133 square kilometres as compared to Italy with 312,568 square kilometres, Roumania with 294,244 square kilometres and Great Britain and Northern Ireland with 244,041 square kilometres. It would be worth while making some really great sacrifices to achieve. It would put an end once and for all to the Balkan question, because instead of being a patchwork of tiny States of no importance at all, always quarrelling about one another's frontiers, you would have three really respectably sized nations : Roumania, Jugoslavia and Turkey, and there would be no more Balkan question left to set Europe alight.

The Serb looked at me seriously. "It sounds like a dream," he said, "but the Bulgarians would not want to join in."

I asked then if any attempt had been made to approach them. He replied that no serious attempt had been made, although they were brother nations. He then asked me how the Bulgarians might be induced to fall in with such a proposal. I told him that it might be done by restoring Bulgarian Macedonia to the Bulgarians. He looked at me with danger in his eyes. "But we have fought for it," he replied. "Yes, but it will make no difference if

you are going to federate," I suggested. "Besides," I explained, "I am only referring to that part of Macedonia that is inhabited by Bulgarian-speaking people." He replied that it was really a great dream, but almost beyond possibility, although it would be a wonderful thing for all parties concerned. Then, after a pause, he suddenly asked: "And what about the part of Bulgarian Macedonia that Greece holds?" As a matter of fact there would not be any extraordinarily great difficulty here if the matter were only approached in a statesmanlike way. The Bulgarians in Macedonia will always be a menace to peace as long as conditions remain as they are, and in any struggle in which either Yugoslavia or Greece happens to find herself mixed up she will always find Bulgaria waiting to attack her on the other side. So that if it is possible to settle the matter, almost any sacrifice would be cheaper than having Bulgaria always on the look-out to cause trouble. There is a way of compensating Greece if only the Serbs have got pluck and vision enough and the Greeks are conciliatory enough. It would need a lot of give and take, but the results should be well worth it. A settlement on these lines would be the end of the Balkan chapter in history for good and all; from that time the Balkan nations would form a part of European history, as every cause for squabbling between themselves would have passed and the Balkan nations would be free to grow up and develop in a manner compatible with their size and the richness of their lands. Their soil is abundant in agricultural and mineral wealth; the people are as intelligent as those of Western Europe; their climate is as healthy as any: all that they require is peace and peacefulness to develop themselves into first-class nations as fitting for the European comity as are Belgium, Switzerland or Denmark.

The settlement I proposed would be for Greece to restore to Bulgaria the Bulgarian part of Macedonia, at the same time as Yugoslavia restores her portion. In return for this Greece should receive from Albania that tongue of land stretching from the Greek frontier to Cape Linguetta, which really contains more Greeks than

Albanians. Furthermore, as England has given an undertaking to Greece to return Cyprus, and Italy has given an undertaking to restore the Dodecanese if England returns Cyprus, both these cessions should be made. We gained untold benefit by returning the Ionian Isles to Greece, so both England and Italy should be statesman-like enough to carry out their former undertakings in respect of Cyprus and the Dodecanese. The Dodecanese are not Italian but Greek, and except for the vanity of domination the islands have no value for Italy. Besides,



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that, England made Italy a present of a part of Kenya, situated along the right side of the Juba river, in fulfilment of a promise made in 1915, which was conditional on the cession to Greece of the Dodecanese. Britain fulfilled her promise on the 29th June, 1925. Italy has not yet fulfilled hers. The cession of Jubaland not only gave Italy the control of the Juba river, which is one of the waterways leading into Abyssinia, but also the town of Kismayu, which is a port at the mouth of the River Juba. If only the Italians and the British would fulfil the promises given to Greece at Sèvres in 1919 and confirmed again in 1920, the whole Balkan question could

be settled. In conclusion, I should suggest that Jugoslavia straighten her northern frontier a little to give the Hungarians some satisfaction in the triangle Maria Theresiopel-Topolya-Obecse-Ada-Zenta-Okanizsa. In that way she will at least be contributing her share to the settlement of the Hungarian difficulty and will have gained the gratitude of Europe. It would be worth Jugoslavia's while to show that she can be a conciliatory nation as well as a very brave one.

With regard to the internal administration of Jugoslavia, at present there are three different families forming one nation: the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes. The Serbs proper were the original inhabitants of the Serbia that was wrested from Turkey, little by little, from the beginning of last century onwards. It was a very slow climb towards autonomy under Turkey. Then came their emancipation as a tiny independent state. Up to the time of the Balkan wars, 1912, the population of Serbia hardly reached much more than about two and three-quarter millions, and the country covered an area of 18,700 square miles. To-day the population of Jugoslavia is over fifteen millions and it covers a territory of 96,000 square miles. The people were practically all engaged in pastoral and agricultural pursuits of a very primitive nature. There was no titled aristocracy, although Serbia always possessed a king. The kings came from one or two dynasties who seemed to be always murdering each other: the Obrenovitch and the Karageogevitch dynasties. But the personal feuds of these two dynasties never seemed to worry the Serbs. If one day the ruling house changed from Obrenovitch to Karageogevitch it did not matter very much, nor did it produce a civil war. The struggles between the two dynasties were looked upon as personal feuds and these feuds did not interfere either with the political or the national life of Serbia; and although a tremendous amount of importance has been given to these murders, outside Serbia, for the Serbian they were just a matter of changing one kingly house for another, which did not particularly concern him. The principal religion of the

Serbs is the Greek Orthodox Church, but they are neither bigots nor fanatics. They have their own special type of Cyrillic characters for writing and printing, closely resembling the Russian. The Serbs to-day number about seven millions all told.

The Croats were a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire before the War. Both culturally and politically they stood on a higher level, enjoying autonomy under the Emperor with some sort of parliament. There is nothing very much to distinguish the Serbs from the Croats, except their religion. The Croats are Roman Catholic. Croats and Serbs both speak the Serbian (or Croat) language, but the Croats do not use Cyrillic but Latin characters for writing and printing. The spoken language, however, is identical. The Croats have quite a well-developed industry. Their capital is Zagreb. They number about four and a half millions.

The Slovenes before the War formed a semi-autonomous province of Austria-Hungary. Their capital is Lyublyana. They understand Serbian, but the Serbs and Croats generally do not know Slovene. They are Roman Catholics, the same as the Croats, and like them they use Latin letters for writing and printing. There are about a million and a half Slovenes in Jugoslavia, and over four hundred thousand of them, besides nearly two hundred thousand Croats and Serbs, in Italy, bordering on Jugoslavia.¹

The Italians have tried to foster the spirit of dissatisfaction in Jugoslavia by stirring up strife between the Serbs on the one hand and the Croats or Slovenes on the other hand. They have been living in hopes of getting either the Croats or the Slovenes or both, to form a separate nation, or nations, on their own under some sort of Italian protection. But their efforts in this direction, so far, have been in vain. In spite of all the administrative mistakes of Serbia, the Croats have preferred to stomach their discontent and remain a part of the Jugoslavian nation, rather than be exposed to the sufferings and oppression that their brothers, under the Italian

¹ Wilhelm Winkler, *Statistisches Handbuch der europäischen Nationalitäten*.

regime, have to undergo. The murderous death of King Alexander has only strengthened their decision in this respect, and they are hoping against hope that Prince Regent Paul will make full use of his English upbringing and introduce a more equitable system of internal administration for the nations that compose the kingdom of Jugoslavia. What they really desire is their own internal autonomy with their own parliament, and that should not be very difficult to arrange. There should be three separate States, each autonomous in everything that appertains to internal administration, and a centralized Skupshtina for the three, for external affairs. That is to say, internally one to the other, they would be individual units; but externally, facing the outside world, they would compose one solid block.

I spoke of abandoning the Cyrillic alphabet throughout the kingdom in favour of the Latin alphabet. In this way the literature of the whole country would be accessible to all; whereas, at present, the Serbs have their Cyrillic characters, the Croats theirs in the same language but in Latin characters and the Slovenes theirs, also in the Latin alphabet, in the Slovenian language. Many Serbs did not seem to appreciate the barrier that this Cyrillic alphabet formed between themselves and the Croats, so I explained that the Croats could never understand the Serbian point of view, if they could not understand Serbian books and newspapers, and they could not understand Serbian books and newspapers if they could not read them. They replied that there was no more reason for the Serbs to adopt the Latin characters than for the Croats to adopt the Cyrillic letters. I explained that the Croats had adopted the characters that were in daily use in practically every part of the white world excluding Greece and Russia, whereas the Serbian alphabet is peculiar to themselves, more or less like the Russian. Even the Turks, who were formerly so backward, have adopted Latin characters, although their tongue is not a European language. The Germans are slowly abandoning their Gothic alphabet, so much so that all typewriters used in Germany to-day have Latin characters. The Roumanians dropped Cyrillic letters ages ago and although

the Russians still use these characters, every school child is taught the Latin letters, so that it will not be so many decades before even Russia will go over to the Latin alphabet. The Croatians have an almost perfectly phonetic alphabet formed on Latin characters. At present all State documents have to be written with both alphabets; all street names in both styles; all ships' names written in both ways on their bows and stern. Why not go the whole hog and wipe out this stupid difference and form one family of the Serbs and Croats? At present it is only the alphabet that keeps them apart.

It is quite true that there is the difference of religion, because the Croats are Roman Catholic and the Serbs are Greek Orthodox, but that would not be a cause of cleavage, any more than the difference of confession separates the English Catholics from the English Protestants or the American Protestants from the American Catholics. I have tried to prove in *The Influence of English*, that language is always the thing that binds or separates. So that if the Serbs could summon up pluck enough to take this step, then there would be no difference between them and the Croats. If there was only one alphabet and thus one literature for all the Serbs and Croats the remaining one and a half million Slovenes would fall in with it as well, because practically all the Slovenes either speak or understand the Serbian language as used by the Croats, but not vice versa. That does not mean to say they would abandon the Slovene language any more than a great part of the Welsh have abandoned their language, although all the Welsh speak English. The same thing applies to the Basques. The Basques all speak either French or Spanish, but the French and Spanish do not speak Basque. In this way the whole of the Jugoslavian nation would have one language and one system of printing for their literature. This alone would help to wipe out a large amount of dissension. But the Serbs did not seem to attach a great deal of importance to it.

They certainly did seem in favour of the idea of a form of federation with Bulgaria, although they were

of the opinion that Bulgaria would never part with any of her sovereignty. But the Bulgarians could still keep their own king, the Serbians as well. Just as before the War it was in Germany, where, besides the Kaiser, who was King of Prussia—and only as King of Prussia did he receive his Civil List as German Kaiser, receiving no allotment of money at all—there were three other sovereign kings, with their parliaments, their courts and their aristocracy. They were the King of Saxony, the King of Bavaria and the King of Württemberg. Each one had his own State and his own capital. The capital of Saxony was Dresden, the capital of Bavaria was Munich and the capital of Württemberg was Stuttgart. The Bulgarians could still have their capital at Sofia, the Serbs at Belgrade, the Croats at Zagreb and the Slovenes at Lyublyana. They could select a federal capital say at Nish, which is right in the midst of the Shop country: the land where they speak a dialect made up of Bulgarian and Serbian; the ideal place for the Capital of a United Yugoslavia. It may also be pointed out, the majority of the Bulgarians understand Serbian, although generally the Serbians do not easily understand Bulgarian. All that it really requires is a lot of give and take on the part of both and a great spirit of compromise on the part of the Serbians. The most difficult part of the task was accomplished by the Great War: the liberation of the Croats and Slovenes from the Austro-Hungarian yoke. Surely the linking up with Bulgaria in a Federal State should be child's play compared with that. "What a beautiful dream," they said, "but who could bring it about?"

Nothing would have compensated me for not having visited Yugoslavia. The old pre-War idea of the Balkans must be forgotten. Yugoslavia has the makings of a very solid nation. They are a great and brave people, extremely loyal and have had an uphill fight ever since their unity. They have been vilified in the eyes of the world by people who had an interest in discrediting them, and they do not know enough of European strategy to put their case before public opinion. In going to Yugoslavia you must not expect to find great cities as in Western Europe, but

neither do you find degraded habitations as in Western Ireland. I was sorry to leave Yugoslavia because I still had so much to learn about this wonderful nation struggling to acquire the recognition of a grudging world.

The Minority question in Roumania is an altogether different and easier question. On arriving in Bucharest you are surprised to find a beautiful city that would grace the most up-to-date nations of Europe. Good and well-stocked shops, large cafés which can compare with those of Rome or Madrid, good hotels with fashionable *demi-mondaines* preying on the patrons, just as in any large European capital, long and broad avenues, some very modern buildings—in every way, a great European capital. The Roumanians do not worry very much about Hungarian propaganda. They just treat it as if it did not exist, or as if Hungary did not exist. You see, their position is very different from that of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia has not only the Hungarians to worry her, but she has Italian rivalry on the one side and Bulgarian hatred on the other. The population of Roumania is somewhere between seventeen and eighteen millions. The country is made up of the original Roumania, Bessarabia which they obtained from Russia, Transylvania which they got from Hungary and the Bukovina that came to them from Austria. Before the War the population was about seven millions and the area 50,720 square miles. To-day Roumania measures 294,960 square miles.

As with Yugoslavia, there is just a small part of their frontier where the Hungarians have an absolute majority. But, right bang in the middle of Roumania, there is a tract of land that is almost pure Hungarian, hundreds of miles from the Hungarian frontier, which has no means of communication whatsoever with Hungary. That is the Seckler district. There are over a million Hungarians in this part of Roumania. If they were situated on or near the Hungarian frontier the problem would be very easy of solution. But being hundreds of miles away from the Hungarian frontier, right in the very heart of Roumania, there is no question of being able to give this Hungarian-speaking territory to Hungary, because to do so would

mean that half of Roumania and millions of Roumanians would have to go with it. The Treaty of Trianon dealt with the problem in the only way possible ; there is no other solution.

No country could possibly do more for its minorities than Roumania has done and is doing. When you compare the terrible way in which the Roumanian minority was treated under the Hungarian regime with the really noble way in which Roumania is trying to satisfy the pretensions of her Hungarian subjects you must admit that the people who have least reason to complain are the Hungarians of Budapest, yet they it is who are stirring up all the unrest. No civilized nation should treat its subjects as the Budapest pre-War government treated its Roumanian subjects. Before the War there were about ten million Hungarians and well over three million Roumanians in Hungary. That is to say, roughly speaking about three Hungarians to one Roumanian. For all this great minority there were only three colleges (Lycées) where the Roumanian language was the language used for teaching. Of 15,272 officials, 14,529 were Hungarians, and only 185 were Roumanians. Out of 5202 departmental functionaries 4769 were Hungarians and only 170 were Roumanians. The rest were of some other nationality within the Hungarian Kingdom. Of 20,981 parish officials, 17,877 were Hungarians, and only 1039 were Roumanians. These are figures obtained from official Hungarian statistics, compiled in the year 1910, which were produced at the Peace Conference. Whereas the natural proportion should have been about one Roumanian official for every three Hungarians, it works out at nearer one for every twenty. The teachers in the primary schools numbered 7351 Hungarians, against 121 Roumanians, that is to say less than 2 per cent, whereas it should have been over 30 per cent. Secondary school teachers numbered 1177 amongst whom were 1131 Hungarians as against 9 Roumanians, the rest being of some other nationality belonging to the Hungarian Kingdom. Of College professors, 670 were Hungarians and 9 Roumanians. In the commerical schools out of

159 teachers 151 were Hungarians and none were Roumanians. In the girls' schools there were 276 women teachers, of whom 258 were Hungarians and none were Roumanians. Of 300 notaries, 285 were Hungarians; and so the whole terrible story goes on. It would hardly be credible if these were not actual official Hungarian figures produced at the Peace Conference. The Hungarians wanted to Magyarize everything.

Amongst the German minorities in the pre-War kingdom of Hungary there were two German tribes: the Swabians and the Saxons. These tribes date back to the early days of the attempts at settling German people as colonists in the different parts of Eastern Europe. When the Roumanians took over they found the Swabians quite Magyarized. It is quite true that the Catholic Hungarians nursed their Protestant Saxon citizens and gave them all sorts of privileges, but only in order to play them off against the Roumanians and stir up hatred between the two minorities. The Saxons were all Protestants whilst the Swabians were Catholic. There was no need to give any privileges to their own Catholics, the Hungarians were Catholics themselves, but they used their Protestant Saxons against their Roumanian minorities.

They gave them the right of settling in towns, whereas these rights were refused to the Roumanians. In fact, in the early days, it was sometimes quite impossible for a Hungarian Roumanian even to enter a town, much less live in one. The Magyars feared their increasing numbers and tried by all means to prevent them leaving the land where only the lowest kinds of work were allotted to them. The expression "Extra Muros" was never more used than by the Saxon minorities in Hungary when referring to the Roumanians. They were to be kept "beyond the walls." The Saxons were even allowed to have their own fortresses for the protection of their settlements. The Hungarians could always rely on their Saxons persecuting the Roumanian population and keeping them down. This is plain enough to be seen even to-day in Transylvania. The Saxon towns are nicely laid out, with every expression given to the Saxon

taste in architecture. Whereas nothing could be more pitiful than the dwellings of the Roumanians. To become a Mayor, it was not only necessary for a Roumanian to speak Hungarian, but he had to be Hungarian in thought and action. His children dare not even be Greek Orthodox in religion, but had to become Catholic. A Mayor could be elected by his fellow-citizens, but approval had to come from Budapest.

One last example may be given to show the state of oppression in which the Roumanians lived. In 1892 a petition was sent to Kaiser Franz Josef to implore him to do something for the betterment of his Roumanian subjects. The petitioner was thrown into prison, and there he remained until he was released at the end of the War. Twenty-six years of imprisonment for presenting a petition.

As against this state of affairs let us see how the Roumanians treat their Hungarian and other minorities.

The Roumanian kingdom is made up of about three-quarters Roumanian people and one-quarter composed of various minorities, amongst whom are one million and a half Hungarians, three-quarters of a million Germans, half a million Ruthenes, three hundred and fifty thousand Bulgarians, a quarter of a million Turks and Asiatics, and various other smaller minorities. The peculiar thing about the Roumanian minorities is, that with the exception of some of the Bulgarians, a part of the Ruthenes and a few of the Hungarians, by far the biggest part of these minorities are situated, for all practical purposes, hundreds of miles away from their ethnological frontiers. The Hungarian minority of Transylvania which numbers over a million—of the million and a half which compose the totality of the Magyar minority—form a compact enclave minority in the very centre of Roumania.

It is quite true that the Bulgarian minority is coterminous with Bulgaria, in parts, but the territory that contains this Bulgarian minority has almost as many Turks and other minorities, the Bulgarians themselves being coterminous with Bulgaria only over a very small extent of the frontier. There are other settlements of Bulgarians

right up towards the Roumanian Black Sea provinces, amongst the Germans, the Ruthenes and the Asiatics. In the part of the Dobruja, where the Bulgarians are thickest, and which is in part coterminous with the Bulgarian frontier, there are about a hundred and twenty thousand Bulgarians, about a hundred and thirty thousand Turks and about twenty-five thousand people of other nationalities and races. As against this, in Bulgaria, there are about seventy thousand Roumanians, so that some sort of exchange of population might be effected. Also in Jugoslavia there are about a hundred and sixty thousand Roumanians in a compact mass. If there was a federation of Bulgaria and Jugoslavia then the compact mass of Roumanians in Jugoslavia might be exchanged for the compact mass of Bulgarians in Roumania; the transaction would only require a rectification of frontiers. But, as I have already pointed out, the Balkan peoples, in parts, form too much of a mishmash for it to be possible to straighten out all their tangles. The minorities in many cases also must not be taken as presenting problems of either urgency or importance. If left free from outside interference the varied nationalities would rub along very well together. You can even find families—large families too—who are so intermarried that no two members are married into the same nationality, or, very often, even into the same confession.

These minorities are enormously scattered. There are for example a couple of colonies of Roumanians in Greece, although goodness only knows however they got there, seeing that there were no aeroplanes in the days when they settled! As for the Greeks, you even find their settlements all along the Bulgarian coast of the Black Sea.

The Roumanian Government has certainly done wonders for its minorities. I do not think any government could be fairer, less prejudiced and less discriminating than the Roumanians have been. In Roumania every minority enjoys the same rights as the Roumanians themselves. They all have their own schools—even the very small minorities—primary and secondary, in their own languages, with teachers of their own nationality.

The Roumanian Government not only allows it, but insists upon it. Every religion or confession is not only tolerated but fully recognized as a religion of the State, which pays all the priests of the different religions and confessions, just as it does civil servants; even the Jewish and Mussulman. The larger minorities have even their own commercial schools and higher technical colleges in their own languages, employing Government-paid teachers of their own nationality, who are specially trained at the State's expense expressly for those minorities. Furthermore, all confessional schools are not only recognized, but the functionaries and staffs are paid by the State. No privileges are recognized and no form of persecution is tolerated. Even in the schools of mixed minorities or mixed confessions the Government tries to allot a suitably mixed staff and thus avoid friction.

A seminary has been created by the State for the training of Mussulman priests and study of the Koran, with full board for the students. There are no restrictions with regard to trades, professions, or callings. Every man and woman can choose his or her own walk in life and practise it in any part of the kingdom regardless of language, nationality, politics or confession. The larger minorities all have their own representation in the government of the country. There is opportunity for everybody. The Commandant of the King's residence at Sinaia is a German, Colonel Plebs. There are a large number of German officers in the Roumanian army. There is a Turk in the Presidency who is one of the higher officials; the Director of the Ministry of Education is a Jew, and there are plenty of other Jews holding high official positions. The Leader of the Hungarian Party in the Roumanian Parliament is George Bethlen, nephew of Count Bethlen who has held the office of Prime Minister in Hungary. If anything could demonstrate greater broadmindedness than that it would be difficult to find. It is also a clear proof that the Hungarians cannot be so badly treated in Roumania as Budapest is trying to make out. If they had been oppressed George Bethlen would have retained the nationality of his own country, where

his uncle was so highly placed, when he had the option of doing so. Especially as Hungarian is his mother tongue and he speaks Roumanian but indifferently.

You can find almost any European newspaper at the kiosks in the streets of Bucharest. There is no restriction on the Foreign Press, and I never saw any signs of censorship. The Hungarian newspapers are sold the same as any others. I was allowed to see the official ledgers with regard to the importation of books from Hungary. Only about one per cent of all the books published in Hungary were not allowed to circulate in Roumania. The exports of books from Hungary to Roumania were equal to four million pengos in value for one year; and you have to consider that there are only a million and a half Magyars in Roumania. In other words, about 30 per cent of all the books published in Hungary go to Roumania, and if it were not for the Roumanian market a good many publishing houses in Hungary would have to close down. In the cafés of Bucharest you can hear all sorts of languages spoken, and nobody interferes with anybody.

There is absolute liberty everywhere as long as you do not disobey the laws, and these are liberally interpreted. A case in point: There is a new law which makes it illegal to dispose of any foreign currency except to the National Bank, the object being to obtain foreign currency to pay for imports, a scarce commodity in the Balkans. Now if I had sold my English pounds to the National Bank I should only have received four hundred lei per £1 for them, but by selling them to private traders I could get as much as seven hundred and fifty lei per £1 sterling. Once, when I wanted to change some pounds, I was in the company of a very high official and he advised me to go to a private trader and sell them.

I was surprised at this as it was illegal. He only laughed and said that laws are made to be used as laws and not as iron bands. The law, he explained, was not made for a tourist like myself, but to prevent any banker or banking-house manipulating the currency to the detriment of the State and thus lowering the value of Roumanian

credit. "But," he added, "your selling twenty or thirty pounds privately, or a thousand persons doing so, in order to spend the money in Roumania, cannot harm our credit. Laws are made to be used sensibly and not to turn people into criminals." Now that is a very fair idea of the way the average Roumanian looks at things. In making his laws he knows beforehand that it is useless to expect people to obey them to the letter—there always has to be a certain amount of give and take. No doubt this is a trait inherited from the days of Turkish rule, but it certainly does ease things when you know that the law is not always an ass, and that it allows you a certain amount of latitude in obeying or disregarding it. There is a reason why private traders pay a much higher price than the National Bank for pounds, or francs, or any other foreign money they have an inquiry for. No private person can buy foreign currency from the National Bank unless he can show a very good reason for requiring it. So that if an individual Roumanian wants to get a dress from Paris, or a suit from England, or anything else from abroad he goes to a private money trader and buys the foreign currency that he requires to complete the transaction. The whole process is of course illegal, and if it comes to that so is street bookmaking in England; but it goes to show the common sense of the Roumanians in not trying to enforce a law just because it is an Act of Parliament, and making due allowance for the human side of his problems.

I came into contact with the very highest authorities in Bucharest and I fully satisfied myself that the Roumanians were doing all in their power to assuage the hardships that the minorities in varying degrees perforce have to suffer. I found that the most capable and understanding people were entrusted with the task of dealing with the particular minority problems they had specially studied.

I left Bucharest for Transylvania to delve right into the thickest minority problem that the War has thrown up. This was no holiday excursion. I crossed the Carpathian Mountains in mid-winter by motor car, when

the day temperature was 35° Centigrade below zero. The plains of Transylvania were almost as bitterly cold as the mountains, and the winds cut through you like a knife. But I had come to go into the minority question on the spot and I intended doing so. I went in amongst the German, Hungarian and Roumanian villages and villagers of Transylvania. I spoke to these people myself in their own languages. I went into their houses and sat down with them. After a time I was taken into custody by the police for a few hours at Sighisoara, as a suspect. It had been reported that a foreigner was going from village to township in Transylvania making all sorts of inquiries, and the police telephoned to Bucharest to ask for instructions. I told the police what I was doing and advised them to telephone to a certain Minister in Bucharest, which was done. I was treated the whole time with the best of good humour especially when orders were received from official quarters in Bucharest that I was to be allowed perfect freedom and given every facility to carry on with my inquiries in any way best suited to myself.

All the time I was in custody I remained in the well-heated private office of the Chief of Police himself, and I was not put to any discomfort, except for the loss of a few hours. This was amply recompensed by my being able to get a glimpse of the efficiency and humanity of the police officials and their methods in a country which only too many of us are apt to look upon as one of the lost corners of civilization, entirely ignorant of the fact that this is a nation of eighteen million inhabitants suddenly beset with problems which would baffle the experienced administrative departments of some of the Great Powers. And yet they are getting on with their job and trying to solve their difficulties with a statesmanship that would do credit to nations who claim to be among the leaders of progress and civilization. Some idea may be gauged of the average Briton's knowledge of countries like Roumania when some time before I left England for the Balkans I read in a well-known English newspaper¹

¹ "The only two flourishing trades are the corset shops for men—patronized by army officers—and the photograph shops which one finds at every city corner and which also depend upon the army for their

that an army order had been introduced prohibiting officers from using lipstick and rouge. Those countless readers must have gained an altogether ridiculous and wrong impression of the Roumanian officer who, in reality, is a manly-looking soldier and not the effeminate creature that readers of such items would be led to believe. The average foreigners' "knowledge" of the new Balkan nations is gleaned from sensational snippets in newspapers—items which even if honestly intentioned convey entirely false values.

Now in order to study the minority problem properly, it is impossible to take Transylvania alone; you have to take it together with two other former Hungarian provinces: Crisana-Maramures and the Banat. The reason for this is, that the three districts are so linked together that, from a research point of view, it would be very unfair to separate them. And, for the purposes of this work, I shall call the whole territory Transylvania, except in making special local allusions, in which case I shall call Transylvania, Transylvania proper, or give the name of the province concerned.

In Transylvania there are three great minorities and a number of small minorities. The three great minorities are, in their correct order, the Roumanian with about 3,000,000 inhabitants, the Hungarian with about 1,300,000, and the German, with about 550,000. There are also small minorities of Ruthenes, Bulgarians, Serbs, Slovaks, Czechs and others. All these small minorities together total about 160,000, and as they are made up of about ten different races, it is impossible to take them into consideration in a work of this description. The whole minority question of Transylvania is therefore a Roumanian-Magyar-German problem. The Magyar minority is made up of two sections: the Magyars or Hungarians proper, and a group of Hungarian-speaking people known as Szecklers. The Szecklers number about half a million, thus bringing down the total of Hungarians custom. The third industry which might have been included in this list, the sale of cosmetics, has had its season's trade spoiled by an army order prohibiting officers from using lipstick and rouge." *Daily Express*, 9th January, 1934.

proper in Transylvania to about 800,000. It is absolutely necessary to draw this line between these two sections of Hungarians and not to group them together, because in practically everything except their language the Szecklers differ from the Hungarians proper. Their origin is very obscure, and it is very doubtful if they are really Magyar in anything but language. The word Szeckler is a Germanized form of the Hungarian word Szekely, which means *Settler*. Now the whole problem is beset with the questions: were the Szecklers in Transylvania at the time of the arrival of the Huns, or did they accompany Attila—as his vanguard—on his push forward into Transylvania, in the Fifth Century? Or, were they one of those tribes pushed into Transylvania by the onward thrust of the Huns, under Balamir, about A.D. 400? Or, did they only arrive in Transylvania in company with the Magyars, under Almus, towards the end of the Ninth Century? You observe that there is a lapse of four hundred years between these epochs, but that only goes to show how shadowy is the origin of the Szecklers and what slender grounds there are for saying that they are Hungarians. Some etymologists go so far as to say that the original word from which the name Szeckler is derived means *vanguard* or *outpost*. But you cannot take etymology too seriously when you are trying to discover any ethnographic derivation. So that whether the word Szeckler means *vanguard* thus giving rise to the supposition that the Szecklers were Hungarians accompanying Attila into Transylvania, or whether it means "*settler*," denoting that Almus found Transylvania already settled on his arrival does not matter very much when dealing with their present-day position.

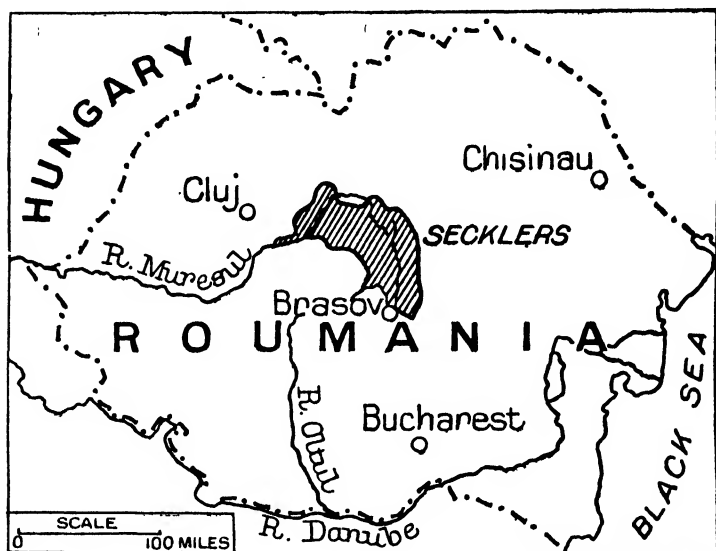
Before the War there was no enmity between the Szecklers and the Roumanians, in fact at times the Szecklers used to consider Roumania as a better country for them to belong to than Hungary. Their territory lay along the Roumanian pre-War frontier, and the Roumanian towns provided a much better outlet for their products than the towns of Hungary. Years before the Great War, as far back as 1902, a notable Hungarian

ethnologist, Mihaly Szöke, makes these facts quite clear in his book, *Our Moribund Race*.¹ He states that the Szecklers look upon Hungary as a foreign country. "They scarcely know the names of such Hungarian towns as Szeged or Debreczen, but Bucharest, Braila, Sinaia, Doftana are talked about even by the children as household names." The Szecklers are small in stature and very merry by nature, the Hungarians are on the big side and their bearing grave. The Hungarians proper live almost exclusively in the towns, whereas the Szecklers are a people fond of the land and villages. Of the 800,000 Hungarians proper about 400,000 live in the towns and about 250,000 in the border departments, leaving about 150,000 for the land and villages, whereas practically the whole Szeckler population live on the land and in the villages. The Szecklers have always sent their girls who wished to enter domestic service into the Roumanian towns, and not into Hungary. In fact the Hungarian Government, even before the War, was obliged to resort to measures to prevent this emigration into Roumania. There were cases, according to official Hungarian statistics, of as much as 10 per cent of the inhabitants of Szeckler villages going to Roumanian towns, as far away as Braila or Galatz, to work. In fact, in a statistical inquiry instituted by the Austro-Hungarian Consul in Galatz in 1903 it was found that there were 3666 Szecklers working there, but hardly any real Hungarians. The Hungarians proper are a conquering race, a great race of the dominating class, whereas the Szecklers are just a peaceful tribe of toilers. Even when the territory belonged to Hungary the Szecklers were never looked upon as anything but peasants: all the great administrative posts were held by Hungarians proper. It was the general thing to bring Hungarians from Budapest to run the country and live in the towns; to conduct the intellectual, industrial and commercial life of the province. The Szecklers were relegated to their villages and

¹ Pusztló véreink (Adatok a Székely Kérdéshez) Szöke Mihaly, Budapest, 1902. *Our Moribund Race* (concerning the problem of the Székely).

townships. Perhaps that was the reason that made the Szecklers lean towards Roumania and away from Hungary.

Again, Land Reform under Roumanian auspices has split up all the latifundian estates and dispossessed the great landlords of their tremendous properties into smaller allotments for the peasant class, and the Szecklers are essentially peasants. So that even if there were a plebiscite to-morrow the Szecklers would vote for Roumania, because they know that a return to Hungary



THE SECKLER¹ DISTRICT

would mean that the great landed estates would be reconstituted and thus deprive them of their own holdings and the dignity they have acquired as a class working their own holdings. The rest of the Hungarians, all told, would only amount to about 800,000, not all of whom would vote for a return to Hungary, for reasons which we shall see later.

In a similar way the German population has to be divided into two parts: the Saxons and the Swabians. The Germans began to settle in Transylvania round about the Twelfth Century, before the smash-up of the

¹ I have Anglicized the spelling of this word.

Hohenstaufen dynasty, which was the prelude to a period of anarchy in Germany. In fact, on the fall of the Hohenstaufens Germany was split up into 270 states which were practically independent. These states fought against each other, against the towns and against the oppression of the barons. They took part in the quarrels of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, that is to say sometimes fighting for the Pope against the Emperor and sometimes fighting for the Emperor against the Pope. There was a general exodus from Germany of people who wanted to live in tranquillity and carry on with their daily lives as peaceful workers. The state of anarchy in Germany became so abominable that in 1273 the Crown of Germany was actually put up by auction to be sold to the highest bidder. It was at this time that one Rudolph of Hapsburg, Count of some insignificant Swiss principality, became Emperor of Germany and the line of Hapsburg lasted until 1918. Before the Hapsburg regime started Germans had migrated in their thousands. In this general exodus were many Saxons who eventually reached Transylvania.

The Swabians were a crop of an altogether different harvest. Whereas the Saxons fled from an anarchic Germany in search of peace and work, the Swabians were brought to Transylvania as a means of colonizing this new territory that had so lately been wrested from Turkey by the Peace of Karlowitz in 1699, and again by the Peace of Passarowitz in 1718. This policy of colonization was carried to its full length under Maria Theresa, who believed in always having a batch of Germans wherever she could plant them in order always to have German support whenever she might need it.

So that these two tribes of Germans are not only from very different parts of Germany, but as settlers they came at entirely different epochs in German history and, above all, their religion is different. The Saxons are Protestants and the Swabians are Catholics and, in the case of these two peoples, the question of religion has been a question of "to be or not to be," because the Swabians, being Catholics, settled in Transylvania under

the domination of the Catholic clergy, but the Catholic clergy had no power over the Saxons. On the surface perhaps this does not appear to be of paramount importance, but it is. The Saxons were well settled in Transylvania at a time when nearly all Hungary came under the Turks, and Transylvania, their home, always managed to maintain its independence. The Saxons knew what it was to be independent, even when formally acknowledging the suzerainty of the Turk. The Swabians have always been on leading strings held by the Catholic clergy. It must be realized that the bishops and higher clerics in Hungary were not nominated directly by Rome, but by the Hungarian rulers who naturally only nominated those who were prepared to do their bidding and work in the cause of Hungary. Furthermore, half the Catholic parishes were in the hands of lay patrons, who nominated the curates. So that only curates who were prepared to obey the will of Budapest were ever nominated. This state of things persisted right up to the time of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918. With such tremendous odds against them the poor Swabians were doomed to become totally Magyarized and began to lose their national individuality altogether. In fact, if the Great War had not come their identity would probably have been extinguished entirely. The state of Magyarization went on at such a pace that a Swabian was ashamed or afraid to call himself German; he tried to ape the Hungarian, and the upper classes amongst the Swabians could do nothing else but toady to the Magyar for self-preservation. It was sufficient for a Swabian official to be heard talking German to one of his Swabian brothers to lose favour with his Hungarian superiors. They dared not even read their own German newspapers. To maintain their very existence they had to allow themselves to become Magyarized. Their children were taught at school to become Magyarized; they were preached at to become Magyarized, and they could not hope to get any post or intellectual recognition unless they not only became Magyarized but helped in the Magyarization of their brothers as well. So that the

Hungarians in the plan of Magyarization of the Swabians were not only helped by the priests and teachers but by the Swabian upper classes and intellectuals into the bargain.

But the Hungarians treated the Saxons in an altogether different fashion. As they could not employ the influence of their church as they did in the case of the Swabians they made no attempt to Magyarize them. On the contrary the Hungarians found a cunning use for the sturdy independence and marked individuality of the Saxons. They were used to harry the Roumanians. The Saxons were about half a million in numbers, whereas the Roumanians were nearly three millions. Everything was done to help the Saxons to prosperity on the one hand and likely to cause the Roumanians more misery on the other. In this way the spirit of hatred was fostered between the Saxons and the Roumanians to the benefit of Hungary, who could thus use the former to keep the latter down and in poverty. The Roumanians were not allowed to settle in the Saxon towns. Certain trades could not be practised by Roumanians, only by the Saxons. Little by little the Roumanians were driven into a condition of servitude, whilst the Saxons were helped to wealth and power. The towns in Transylvania were Saxon all over, with a Saxon mode of living and fortresses under Saxon control. Modern pre-War Hungarian Governments did their utmost to secure continuance of this mediæval condition of things. If they could not do so by means of the law they allowed the law to be twisted in such a fashion as to effect the same purpose. To take a couple of examples at random : Professor Sylvius Dragomir, Professor at the Theological Academy of Sibiu, wanted to become fully qualified as a citizen of the town of Sibiu, but the Hungarian authorities, in order to prevent his doing so, assessed him for taxation at a figure higher than his whole annual salary ! This sounds like mediæval history, but it is not. That professor is living to-day ; he is a professor of History at the University of Cluj. This same town of Sibiu refused to admit within its walls the Bishop of

the Roumanian Orthodox Church for all Transylvania, and he had to reside in a village. A Bishop entrusted with the spiritual welfare of nearly three million souls. That was what Transylvania was like under the Hungarians.

The Saxon villages were wonderful examples of prosperity ; the Roumanian villages examples of dire misery and neglect. Even to-day, in the capital of one of the most important Roumanian provinces of Transylvania, Mercurea Ciuc, there is not only no drainage, but no cesspools. In most of the inns or hotels of Mercurea Ciuc there is no flushable latrine of any sort and you are actually obliged to go out into the yard to an ordinary hole in the ground which has no way whatever of being properly emptied or cleaned. The night when I was at the hotel it registered over thirty-five degrees below zero, Centigrade, and it is easy to imagine what it means to be obliged to get up in the middle of the night if a person happens to be ill at such a season. But these conditions are not due to the Roumanians, but inherited from Hungary, who was in possession of the territory, in one way or another, for hundreds of years. Transylvania has only been Roumanian since 1918. In treating the Roumanian portions of Transylvania in this abominable fashion Hungary had two objects in view : to exploit her Roumanian subjects in order to enrich Budapest and the Hungarian provinces proper and to keep the Roumanians in utter subjection, the latter being her chief aim. It was impossible to Magyarize the Roumanians ; there were nearly three millions of them, their religion was different and they were too sturdy ; much more resistant than the Swabians. And so in spite of all oppression and hardship the Roumanian identity has endured.

On going through the Transylvanian villages to-day there is really very little to distinguish between Szecklers, German and Roumanian peasants except that they wear different sorts of dress. The Szecklers wear breeches, the Germans wear aprons and the Roumanians wear a sort of very coarse white flannel trousers. They all work their lands in the same way ; they all live, more or less,

in the same way; they all produce the same sort of crops; and they all have about the same outlook on life. The only difference between them is the fact that they speak different languages. There has been almost a complete fusion of interests since Transylvania has become a part of the Roumanian State. The very fact that the Government has encouraged each minority to develop its own national characteristics seems to be bringing them closer together rather than keeping them apart. Furthermore, they have now, all three of them, one great interest in common: since the Agrarian Reform they have all become proprietors of their own lands, and they all have the same heartfelt desire never again to be robbed of that privilege. That ideal binds them all together. If Transylvania ever went back to Hungary the old condition of things would prevail once more, and the peasants would once more be subjected to the domination of the great Hungarian landlords. That fact alone is sufficient to keep Szecklers, Germans and Roumanians alike attached to their new Fatherland.

Besides, they are all much better off since Roumania took over. No longer is Transylvania drained of its wealth to fatten Budapest. Never again are the Roumanians to be driven back to serfdom. Never again are the Roumanians going to be denied the right to become citizens of their own towns. The days when the Swabians were ashamed to speak their own language are past. The choosing of priests no longer rests in the hands of some persecuting, Magyarizing landlord. Under Roumanian rule the bishops are nominated directly by the Holy See, and the canons and priests by the bishop¹. No part of the country is ever again going to be denied education in order to prevent the masses becoming intellectually on the same basis as their masters, as was previously the case under Magyar rule.

There may still be a tremendous amount to be done to

¹ This arrangement was made by a Roumanian, Dr. Paclisanu, who is not a Roman Catholic, but who saw the injustice of the former situation, and the dire effects it had had on the Swabian population.

bring the whole of Roumania up to modern European standards, but none can deny that the nation has shouldered her burden in a way that has done credit to her. It is no mean achievement to have brought about equality of rights in a territory where equality has never before been known. What Roumania has done, she has done fairly, for one and all alike. Even the Magyars have not been the targets for any Roumanizing policy, in spite of the way in which the Roumanians were treated by the Magyars when Transylvania belonged to Hungary. It is quite true that they no longer have the privileges that they once enjoyed, because they are no longer an arbitrarily ruling caste. They are just citizens like the Swabians, the Saxons, the Szecklers, or the Roumanians, but they are not denied any of the privileges enjoyed by all minorities in common. As long as they behave themselves like Roumanian citizens the laws protect or punish them just as they protect or punish all citizens of the new State.

The leeway that Roumania has made up in Transylvania since she has taken over is little short of miraculous. When the Hungarians were in possession of Transylvania, the State never supported one single Roumanian school. Practically all the Roumanian schools were supported by the Orthodox and Greek Catholic parishes. As a contrast to this, to-day, under the new regime, Transylvania can show 562 Hungarian and 51 German primary schools, and 20 Hungarian and 8 German high schools, *which are entirely supported by the State*. Under the Hungarians, the Swabians had only one primary school for every 10,847 inhabitants; now they have one for every 2184 inhabitants: nearly five times as many and mostly supported and encouraged by the State. Whereas in pre-War days there was one primary school for every 504 of the inhabitants of Hungary proper, there was only one high school to every 732,525 Roumanians in Transylvania; Hungarians in that territory had one to every 11,979 of their nationals. Although there were over 300,000 Swabians, there were no high schools for them at all; now they have about 12. In some questions of

education the Roumanians, in spite of everything that happened in the past, are more generous towards the Hungarians and Saxons in the allotment of schools than they are towards their own people. The State allows one primary school for every 778 Hungarians and one for every 803 Roumanians. The high school ratio is one for every 15,163 Hungarians, and 28,750 Saxons respectively, and only one for every 70,000 Roumanians. One lycée is allotted to every 20,900 Saxons, 32,500 Hungarians and 72,500 Roumanians.¹

An obvious reason for the Hungarians and Saxons requiring more high schools than the Roumanians lies in the fact that in the previous regime the Hungarians and Saxons were given all the privileges in the towns, which are still mainly inhabited by people of these two races, and they comprise the vast majority of the intellectual classes. It will take the Roumanians a long time to recover from the effect of generations of complete subjection, during the period when they were denied the right—for all practical purposes—of living in the towns and were thus forced to live on the land in villages remote from civilized conditions. It would have been only natural if liberated Roumania without harbouring revengeful feelings had said there will be an equal allotment of higher schools per 100,000 inhabitants, per nationality, and thus entered on a campaign of intense Roumanization. By allotting these schools entirely according to fitness to use them, irrespective of nationality, the Roumanian Government has shown statesman-

¹ The above figures are for 1925 and only refer to schools supported by the State. On going to press, I have received the latest figures—for 1935. However, these are not only for State schools but include denominational schools. The Hungarians now possess altogether 1054 primary schools and 232 sections of primary schools; 55 secondary schools and 7 sections of secondary schools. The Germans have 379 primary schools and 75 sections of primary schools; 29 secondary schools and 6 sections of secondary schools. One very nice point that should be brought out is the fact that the Roumanians have opened 43 primary schools for the Serb population of Transylvania, which is about 44,000. They have also opened 12 schools for the small Slovak and Bulgarian minorities in Transylvania, with tuition in their own languages.

ship and vision all too rare throughout the world to-day. But enough of this.

If it were only for this enlightened spirit she has introduced into her system of education, Roumania would deserve to rank high among nations, but that is by no means the whole story. Roumania has gone forward in other directions as well. Under Hungary, if any non-Hungarian wanted to publish a periodical of any description whatsoever notice was obliged to be given fifteen days before publication to the Head of the local administration, giving him the name and address of the publisher, that of the responsible editor and the printers, the area of distribution, besides numerous other details. If the Head of the administration did not "take note" of this information the publication could not appear. If the publication was a political journal or even one dealing with religious or social questions a large deposit had to be paid as caution money. If the journal was condemned to a fine, this had to be paid up to its full amount within three days, or the publication was closed down. Before a publication could be displayed or sold in the streets the authorization of the Head of the local administration was obligatory. This alone shows what abuses must have prevailed. Besides that, the sanction of the Minister of the Interior was required. Even the person who sold the publication needed an authority from the local police. Periodical publications could only be sold by merchants who fulfilled all the conditions of the commercial code, and then only on his premises. In some cases sales-permits were only granted for six months and then only to so-called *trustworthy* persons, and even then they were only allowed to sell the journals listed on their permits.

Now, look at the laws introduced by the Roumanians since their occupation of Transylvania: the Constitution guarantees to all persons freedom to communicate and to publish their ideas and opinions through the medium of the Press. No exceptional law may be passed diminishing this right. No censorship or other preventative measure may be imposed on the issue, sale or distribution of any

publication whatever. No preliminary authorization is required from any public authority for the appearance of a publication of any kind. No caution money may be demanded from journalists, authors, publishers, compositors, or lithographers. The serving of cautionary notices on the Press is prohibited. No journal or publication may be suspended or suppressed.

Under Hungary there was no law guaranteeing the rights of meeting in Transylvania. No public meeting could take place without previous notice to the police or the Head of the Administration. For open-air meetings it was necessary to obtain the approval of the police. To form an association of any sort, the previous approval of its statutes by the Government was required. Ethnic Minorities were only allowed to form literary and cultural associations. As against this, the Roumanian law says that all Roumanian citizens, irrespective of their ethnical origin, language or religion have the right to meet in a peaceable manner and without arms, in conformity with the laws governing the exercise of this right, to discuss any sort of question: no preliminary authorization is required for this purpose.

But these are only three of the scandalous forms of oppression that Roumania has abolished in Transylvania. Since she has obtained possession, the whole country has taken on a different complexion. Naturally the rate of progress at the start has not been maintained on account of the world slump, but that is not Roumania's fault. The fact is that Transylvania has become a totally different region since it was wrested from the clutch of the Hungarians. Everything has improved, even the condition of the Hungarians themselves, although they are naturally loth to acknowledge this. As regards the Press, the Hungarians now have 312 periodical publications, of which 53 are daily newspapers. Not bad going for a population of just over a million and a quarter. Only 54 of these were in existence before the Roumanians took over. The Germans have 102 publications of which 15 are daily papers. They only had five under the Hungarians. They still have their clubs, their societies

and their associations which they enjoy without interference. They have political clubs, literary and cultural associations and even 162 choral societies. Since Transylvania has become a part of Roumania, over 5000 works have been published in Magyar. That is to say that in fifteen years, under the new regime, there were more works published in Roumania *in the Hungarian language* than in fifty years under Hungarian rule.

The Germans in Transylvania have progressed in a far greater degree even than this, although it is remarkable enough. There is no restriction whatsoever on the Roumanian Germans visiting Germany for any reason, nor is there any restriction on the Germans of Germany visiting the German Cultural Societies of which there are a large number in Roumania. The Swabians have progressed out of all recognition and their numbers, which were definitely on the decrease before the War, are now rapidly increasing. In the district of Satu Mare their number had actually dwindled from 18,000 in 1839 to about 6600 in 1910. No longer are the Swabs ashamed to call themselves Swabians. The Roumanian State has actually encouraged them to do so, and to build up a strong and prosperous minority. Their leaders who before the War, were nicknamed Magyarones, because they courted the favours of the Magyars in everything they did, on account of the benefits thereby accruing to them, are now the loudest in defending *Das Deutschtum* in song and gesture. They have nothing more to fear. They have the right to live their own lives. The nightmare of Magyarization is a thing of the past.

Before I finish with the question of the minority problem as far as it concerns Roumania, I should like to give a few figures. In Transylvania the urban population is about 18.5 per cent as against 81.5 per cent peasants. In the old days, in this essentially peasant country, the great landlords, who only composed 0.6 of the population, owned one-third of the land. In exact figures there were 964,936 landowners of all descriptions out of whom only about 4600 were great landlords. Out of the whole available land of the country 2,751,457 hectares were

owned by these 4600 great landlords, the remaining 4,698,855 hectares were divided up among nearly a million smallholders. That is to say, in round figures, the great landlords' holdings averaged nearly 600 hectares each, equal to about 1500 acres, whilst the peasants' holdings only averaged about five hectares each, equal to about twelve and a half acres. By the Agrarian Reform over six and a half million hectares were divided up amongst the small proprietors, which would produce an average of about seventeen acres each. In the ten years, between 1920 and 1930, the agricultural production of Transylvania nearly doubled itself.

Finally the fusion of Transylvania with the State of Roumania was carried out in a perfectly legal and constitutional manner. It was not the Treaty of Trianon which tore it from Hungary, as the Hungarians would have us believe. The Roumanians of Transylvania voted for the union on 1st December, 1918, at Alba Julia. The Saxons voted for union on 8th January, 1919—only five weeks later—at Medias. The Swabians voted for union, at Timisoara on the 16th August, 1919, in a perfectly free and unfettered ballot. The Treaty of Trianon was not signed until the 4th June, 1920, and its provisions regarding Transylvania only gave force to desires shown by plebiscite by the Roumanians, Saxons and Swabians of that territory to transfer their allegiance from Hungary to Roumania. The total population of Transylvania in 1919 was 5,114,124, out of which over three and three-quarter millions voted for union with Roumania. A ballot taken to-day would show that there are now even more pro-Roumanians in Transylvania than in 1918-19.

The last of the three Successor States is Czechoslovakia. As a matter of fact I did not go from Roumania to Czechoslovakia, as might appear at first sight. I actually went to Bulgaria, from Roumania, but I am taking Czechoslovakia at this point ; it is the right place for it, because it completes the Successor States and the question of the Treaty of Trianon.

For me, Czechoslovakia provides the most complicated problem of all. Neither Jugoslavia nor Roumania present

any very great difficulties, once the circumstances and conditions are properly analysed and the Hungarian propaganda left aside. But Czechoslovakia does really present a tremendous problem, and one that will have to be faced, and faced courageously because, if not, it is bound to produce the gravest of consequences in the not too distant future. In both Jugoslavia and Roumania we were only faced with difficulties caused almost entirely by the superlatively skilful work of the Hungarian propaganda bureau, but in Czechoslovakia the Hungarian minority presents a problem of its own, and a tremendous German minority is responsible for a still greater one. And neither are "propaganda" problems, but real ones. The difficulties are increased by the consideration that while Czechoslovakia may be immensely well governed to-day, it does not follow that she will be anything like so well governed in ten years' time. In 1913 France was the most tractable State to deal with; in 1923 she became the most self-asserting country in the world; nothing would satisfy her demands. In 1923 the Germans possessed as fair-minded a government as any country has ever had; in 1933 she had become a Fascist State with all that that implies. Furthermore, Czechoslovakia possesses two of the most diplomatically skilful statesmen of modern times, Benes and Masaryk. When they go, it will be very difficult to replace them.

Czechoslovakia, as the name implies, should be a state made up of Czechs and Slovaks. That was what was originally intended. The Czechs and the Slovaks understand each other perfectly. The languages are very similar and the race is the same. But there is one great difference between them; the Czechs, before the War, belonged to Austria, whereas the Slovaks belonged to Hungary. Austria, latterly, ruled her subjects more or less liberally, and did all she could to develop the component parts of her empire, from a cultural point of view; whereas Hungary did nothing else but persecute her subject nations. Hungary denied them everything—even the right to their own language. The Czechs had a national university of their own; the Slovaks hardly

had a secondary school, much less a university. The Czechs were regarded as fellow-subjects by the Austrian State, their own language was recognized in the Reichsrath—the Austrian parliament—the hereditary successor to the throne was married to a lady of Czech descent—Countess Chotek. But the Slovaks were looked down upon by the Hungarians as an inferior race, and they were inferior, because the Hungarians saw to it that they had not the means to climb to cultural equality with their masters.

The Czechs themselves, or call them Bohemians if you like, have a history going back into the centuries. The University of Prague is one of the oldest in Europe and the first in Central Europe. They have come in contact with our own country on several occasions. The three feathers used by the Prince of Wales used to be the emblem of the Bohemian kings. Blind John of Bohemia was killed on the battlefield of Crécy in 1346, and the Black Prince who was leading the English forces tore the three feathers from the headdress of the dead King of Bohemia, and from that time the three feathers became the crest of every succeeding Prince of Wales. Anne, a granddaughter of this very King John of Bohemia, became Queen of England, as the wife of Richard the Second. If it had not been for the Czech John Huss—Rector of the University of Prague—it is very doubtful if the doctrines of Wyclif would ever have been heard of at all outside his own University of Oxford. Even Oxford laughed at his teachings, but the Bohemian John Huss fought for their recognition and was finally burnt at the stake on 6th July, 1415, because he insisted on them. And if it had not been for the teachings of Wyclif how different might history have been. Up to the time of Wyclif the Popes had absolute power over western and middle Europe. The Popes had the power to give and take away kingdoms.

One of the greatest monarchs of all times, the Franconian Emperor of Germany, Henry IV, was obliged to humiliate himself before Hildebrand, known as Pope Gregory VII. This is one of the most outstanding and

dramatic episodes in history, showing the power of the Popes, before the Reformation. Because he refused to do the Papal bidding Henry was deposed and excommunicated, and that great Emperor of Germany was actually obliged to stand for three days with bare feet, clad in sackcloth, in the frozen snows of Canossa in order to obtain the Pope's pardon. Such was the power of the clergy that they led a life of licentious liberty and nobody dared to protest. Mere children were raised to the highest offices of the Church or State at the word of a bishop. Whilst the abuse of indulgences became absolutely scandalous. In spite of all this, if it had not been for John Huss, Wyclif would probably have never been heard of, and without Wyclif would the Reformation have come? Would Luther have appeared on the scene? Would Henry VIII dared have quarrelled with the Pope about the divorce of Catherine of Aragon? How different History would have been! It was the Czechs who started the Thirty Years' war. The Thirty Years' war began because the Crown of Bohemia was offered to the son-in-law of James I of England. But the points of contact between England and Bohemia are too numerous to go on detailing.

To come back to the present day, in 1918 we find the Czechs a fine, sturdy race of people, proud of themselves, with a good European standard of living and culture; the Slovaks, a poor people who knew very little of the blessings of civilization; a people used to being oppressed, indeed, to being treated almost like serfs. A poor little nation of quiet peasants. The Czechs number about seven and a half millions: the Slovaks about two millions and a quarter. There are also the Ruthenians, about 500,000 in number; they compose the most backward element of all in Czechoslovakia. They were promised autonomy under the peace treaties, but the Czechs are experiencing great difficulty in giving it to them on account of their backwardness. The Ruthenians have a sort of Roman Catholic religion all their own. They owe obedience to the Pope, yet they are not orthodox members of the Roman Church, because they retain their ancient

Greek liturgy and customs. Furthermore, their priests marry.

The Hungarians in the State of Czechoslovakia number about 690,000 altogether, of whom about 610,000 live in Slovakia. Of these there are some 270,000 who really never ought to have been separated from the Mother Country. They belong geographically, ethnically and economically to Hungary, and their separation was the only serious mistake in the Treaty of Trianon. They inhabit the district comprising Great Schutt Island up to the town of Gran and a little beyond. The other 450,000 Hungarians are so linked up with the economic conditions prevailing, that to separate the territory they live in from Slovakia would be a far greater injustice than any arising out of the present position, because it would mean either a large part of Slovakia being given to Hungary or ruining economically a large Slovakian area, and it would deprive Czechoslovakia of practically their whole means of access to the Danube which, after all, is the aorta of Central Europe. To have cut off Czechoslovakia from the Danube would have been a greater injustice than to separate 450,000 Hungarians from their brothers in their native country—always remembering that a large number of these Hungarians are really not Hungarians at all but simply people who in the past chose to accept Magyarization rather than oppression.

The Hungarians have been no fairer to Czechoslovakia than they have been to the other states which used to be under their suzerainty. They have abused everything that they could abuse, and even more. Here is an indication of how the Hungarians behaved in pursuance of the policy of Magyarizing everybody and everything when they ruled the Slovaks. The capital of Slovakia is Bratislava—which translated into English means Brother-Slavs—so that the town must have something to do with the Slavs. In 1880 about 15 per cent of its inhabitants were Hungarians—by 1901 the Hungarian population had risen to 40 per cent. But the Hungarians were never too scrupulous when it came to statistics, and they always

were on the alert to proselytize any of their subject people. A Slovak who was true to Slovakia could never get very far, but a Slovak who was willing to change his name and become totally Hungarian was always a great favourite in Budapest. As far back as 1880 you could change your name in Hungary for a crown in Hungarian money, and in those days a crown was worth about tenpence. So when you hear about "Crown Hungarians," do not believe that they are specially loyal Hungarians to the Hungarian crown, but they are minority-subjects of Hungary who have paid the sum of one crown—equal to about tenpence—to change their names and become totally Magyarized on account of the advantages that the Hungarian State conferred upon them: traitors to their own people in Magyar pay. Any minority-subject, be he Roumanian, Serbian, Pole or Slovak, could get almost any preferment by becoming a proselyte: by changing his name and working for the Magyar instead of working for his own people. This was a favourite pastime of the Hungarians. The Hungarians always took great care to get the intellectual development of the towns into their own hands. As long as they had the so-called intelligentsia fighting for them, they were pretty sure of the rest. In this way, towns which could have expanded in any other way, actually shrunk into insignificance under the Magyar sway. So that when you read Hungarian statistics and see that a town like Bratislava has increased its Hungarian percentage in thirty years, from 1880 to 1910, from 15 per cent to 40 per cent, you must not think that this is really so; it means, much more probably, that a good many of the actual inhabitants have been induced to change their names and to speak Hungarian on account of the advantages to be gained thereby from their Magyar overlords.

However, since Bratislava has passed out of Hungarian hands, we can see an altogether different picture. In 1910 the population amounted to about 78,000, of whom, supposedly, 40 per cent were Hungarian. By 1921 the population had increased to about 93,000—15,000 in eleven years—of whom 20,730 were Hungarian. That is

to say about 28 per cent. However, by 1931 the population had increased to 123,000—30,000 in nine years—of whom only about 20,000 were Hungarians—so that the percentage had dropped to about 17 per cent. This all goes to show that under Hungary the statistics were really not true ones, on account of the proselytizing that was going on, and also on account of the Magyar system of keeping the towns for themselves at any cost. A city that under Magyar rule in eleven years only increased 15,000 whereas under Slovakian rule it increased 30,000 in the nine years following, clearly shows that the Hungarians had been following a policy of keeping the Slovaks out and themselves in. Something more of this can be seen in the case of Kosice. In 1880 the population of Kosice consisted of 10,000 Magyars and 10,000 Slovaks—that is to say running neck and neck—but in 1910 the proportion, instead of being 50 per cent and 50 per cent like in 1880, was actually 25 per cent and 75 per cent to the benefit of the Magyars, on account of their Magyar principles. But 1910 was still in the good old Magyar days, when they could do all they liked with their proselytizing system. But after the War, when this proselytizing system had to be abandoned, they did not show such a procentual increase. In fact, the Magyars did increase in numbers, but not in percentage. They actually increased in numbers from 11,206 to 11,505, but their percentage dropped to 18 per cent of the total. On the very face of it the whole thing is absurd. How could the percentage have been 75 per cent in 1910 and only 18 per cent in 1930, especially when their own actual numbers had increased. The whole thing stinks of cooked figures. In 1910 Kosice counted about 44,000 inhabitants, of which 75 per cent are supposed to have been Magyars; that is to say 33,000. In 1930 the population of Kosice totalled some 70,000 souls, of whom about 11,500 were Hungarian; that is to say about 18 per cent. What the Hungarians always wanted, was to get hold of the towns and by means of the towns they could control the rural areas and agricultural regions. This was always made possible by the Parliament of Budapest,

and through political power they could dictate to all local governments, the great religious bodies and the education authorities, and they did it.

But the great problem of Czechoslovakia is not their Hungarians. There would be no special difficulty in dealing with the Magyar question, if that were the only one. But Czechoslovakia is a country without an absolutely predominant body. Every one of the nations which go to form Czechoslovakia is a minority, including the Czechs themselves. The country, roughly speaking, contains fifteen million inhabitants; of these about 52 per cent are Czechs, and 24 per cent are German; only 13 per cent are Slovaks—although the Slovaks are really classed as a majority-body and not as a minority: that is why the country is called Czechoslovakia. There are also 6 per cent of Hungarians and 4 per cent of Ruthenians. The remainder consists of a fair sprinkling of Poles, Roumanians and others. Of course, if you put the Czechs and the Slovaks together, you get a main body of 68 per cent Czechoslovaks, which is generally the way it is done. Nevertheless it will take a fairly long time and a lot of give and take on both sides before these two elements can truthfully be called one block, especially as the Slovaks have now not only their own language but also their own university where their own language is spoken, as different from the official Czech language. Furthermore, since she has shaken off the Hungarian yoke, Slovakia has blossomed forth with her own literature on quite a respectable scale, and it does not seem likely, at present, that the Slovak language will become fused into Czech. It is much more probably that Slovak will develop on its own lines as a language, and thus, perhaps, at some later period in history, provide all the complications which separate languages within one and the same State provoke.

For centuries Slovakia was under the heel of Hungary. For a thousand years Slovakia has been subjected to Hungarian rule. For decades there was a systematic campaign to extinguish the Slovak language, customs and ideals, with the aim of making the country entirely

Magyarized in body and soul. If the War had resulted in favour of the Central Powers it would have been good-bye to the Slovaks as a race. The victory of the Central Powers would have been the knock-out blow for any idealism that the Slovaks may have possessed. For decades they had been starved of schools in their own language. All Slovak higher schools were forbidden by the Hungarians, *even if they were to be entirely supported by Slovak voluntary contributions*. If any Slovak wanted to get even a very subordinate government post he was obliged to renounce his race and language, for good and all, and even to adopt a Hungarian name. The National Slovak Cultural Society, the Mattice, was closed down in 1875, and its funds were confiscated, and even the cash taken out of the till. I have already shown how the percentage of Slovaks decreased, in Bratislava, from 28 per cent to 17 per cent in nine years, while in Kosice the difference was much greater still, and so it was all over Slovakia : on the land and in the villages. Even the Slovak candidates for Parliament used to be spirited away at election times. Slovakia was represented in the Hungarian parliament practically only by Magyars or Germans. And yet its language survived. So that without all these difficulties to contend with the Slovak tongue will probably become a real and living thing and develop on lines which will diverge more sharply from the Czech language than now.

But that as a national problem is a thing of no consequence. The great nightmare that Czechoslovakia will have to face in the future is her Germans, who form 24 per cent of her population. It is quite possible that for the moment they do not provide any sleepless nights for Masaryk and Benes. It is quite possible that, at the present, the German population of Czechoslovakia gives particularly loyal, industrious and intellectual support for the Government at Prague. For the moment they may have no wish, or even dream to become part of the German Empire, but sooner or later the time will come. Even if the Germans of Czechoslovakia themselves do not wish to separate from their adopted country, the pressure

put upon them from Berlin, in one way and another, will foster, in the coming generations, the longing to belong to that Germany who is fighting the battle for *Deutschtum* and has resolved to embrace all those German peoples that are now separated from the Fatherland.

France tried to weaken her greatest enemy by amputation and forced secession, but it was really only an act of hopeless desperation. If the worst comes to the worst an amputated Germany of sixty million inhabitants, plus fifteen millions separated from her, is a far more dangerous proposition than the whole seventy-five millions under one roof. If they form one empire we do know where we are, but surely the last struggle taught us that imprisoned peoples are not going to shoot down their own brothers when it comes to war, however they may behave in peace. The Czechs themselves deserted Austria in hundreds of thousands when war broke out, and yet Austria, in later years, behaved very benevolently towards her Czechs: far better than most nations treated their minorities. For all the hold they had over them, the Hungarians could not trust their minorities on the battlefield when they had to face their brothers in race and language. No dread, no fear, no promise, no bribe was great enough to stay the inevitable. Serb went to Serb, Roumanian to Roumanian, Slav went to Slav, when the time came. So why try to deceive ourselves about the Germans, who have had the advantage of better schools, better laws, a greater tradition and a prouder history than most? The Germans have shown us that they are among the most patriotic peoples in the world, that they are capable of the greatest sacrifices for their ideals and that the call of brotherhood is as strong with the Germans as with the most race-proud nation on the globe. It would be much better instead of trying to blind ourselves to the truth that we faced up to the facts and tried to work out some way of salvation that would meet all the aspirations of the nations concerned. It was France's dread of a united Germany that caused the dismemberment of the Reich, and goodness only knows what, short of war, is ever going

to put matters right. No man in his right senses is ever going to expect Czechoslovakia to make a present of her German lands to Germany and no man in his right senses can believe that the position will quietly remain as it is for many decades to come.

That is the great problem which Czechoslovakia will have to face sooner or later, and not small matters like the Slovak language, Ruthenian autonomy or Hungarian propaganda. Nevertheless, the 690,000 Hungarians within her borders are going to be a great cause of anxiety when the great German nightmare becomes a reality. It is bad enough to have to face the giant, but the dwarf will be able to do his share of damage while the giant delivers the most fearsome attack.

That there is a unifying movement amongst the Germans of Czechoslovakia—the Sudetendeutschen—it would be idle to deny. It not only exists but it is an established fact. They look upon themselves as Germans and not as Czechoslovaks. Before the general elections in May of this year—1935—it was calculated that about 20 per cent of the German population were sentimentally in favour of a breakaway from Czechoslovakia and union with Germany, although up to the present there is no active separatist movement in being. Nevertheless there are distinct signs that the Sudetendeutschen are beginning to feel their feet and these signs cannot be any too comforting to the Czechs, nor can they be considered as of no importance. On the 29th of April of this year the following article appeared in the *Montagsblatt* which belongs to the most important German newspaper published in Czechoslovakia.

THE DEATH CRY—ONLY IN CZECHISH

While Dr. Benes, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the course of lectures delivered in German, has been assuring national minorities of his special protection, and Dr. Preiss spoke of "equals among equals" at the assembly of German industries at Teplitz, the Minister of National Defence, regardless of the

fact that the fundamental principles of Masaryk's democracy, as embodied in the Constitution, admit of no distinctions between citizens in respect of nationality, race or creed, has bethought himself of two decrees, which could not have been issued at a more untimely moment. Immediately after Easter we had the resurrection of the decree requiring the employment by Government contractors of a certain "key" proportion of Czech workmen, and soon after there followed the decree ordering German officers to use the Czech language when conversing privately in public with their fiancées, wives or children.

Thus precept, thus practice: the best possible propaganda at the time of an election for radical German parties. While Czech party leaders have to rack their brains to produce an attractive list of electioneering lies, with an agreeable façade of social legislation, debt reduction demagogics and the like, German nationalists have only to placard these two official decrees and distribute them in the form of leaflets to be assured of easy victory.

The German soldier, whose outstanding reliability has been repeatedly stressed by Minister Bradac, and whose devotion to duty was proved during the defence of the Schimitz barracks against revolting Czech Fascists, has always been respected in this country and has never been excluded from conscription, like the Jews in the German Third Reich. He is taught to shed his last drop of blood in defence of the liberty of his country, but if his heroic breast is pierced in battle, his death cry may only be in Czech! Where is the much-vaunted spirit of Swiss unity? Or can anyone imagine that an officer from Tessin would be forbidden to talk Italian to his fiancée in Zürich!

If all nationalities of this State alike are required to stake life and property in time of war, there should be no distinctions in times of peace, which with us really only serve as a preparation for defence. It is unconstitutional to classify Government contractors and unemployed according to their nationality. Above

all, it is inhuman, in view of the much higher percentage of unemployment existing in the German areas, to require the displacement of German by Czech workmen, unless Czech contractors are equally required to employ a "key" proportion of German workmen.

The gentlemen responsible for these decrees should come to realize at last that everything can only be demanded of him who is not continually degraded by discriminations in respect of nationality and language; for only those enjoying full recognition and equality in every field of cultural and economic life will be able to give themselves wholeheartedly to the service and defence of the country. It is impossible to require the services of Germans as soldiers, taxpayers and subscribers to the election funds of Czech parties, and at the same time, by decrees of this kind, to stamp them as inferior citizens.

The *Morgenblatt* has always stood for the solidarity of the German citizen with, and his loyalty to, this State, and has carried out educational work in this sense, as far as it is possible for the Press to do so, but we are to-day more than ever compelled to utter this warning criticism: A nationality "key" that is only concerned for those who are able to cry "Na sdar" ("Heil") in their mother-tongue is no key to the solution of our minority problem. If the Germans are considered as good as the Czechs for shedding their blood in a future war, they are also equally worthy of free life and work in time of peace.¹

¹ I have received official assurance that no such decrees really exist. These statements are just electioneering stunts practised by the German Fascists in Czechoslovakia—the Henlein Party. They were up to any old stunt if they thought it would attract attention and get them votes. A day or two before the elections a rumour spread all over Prague that Henlein had been shot. Newspapers and placards appeared in the main streets of the capital of Czechoslovakia to this effect. However, as soon as the police found out that it was merely an electioneering stunt the placards and newspapers as suddenly disappeared off the streets. I feel bound to explain this as, otherwise, people might obtain an idea that the Czechs are behaving in a tyrannical fashion towards their German co-nationals, which is not the case.

But this is only one article taken at random. Hundreds of such articles appear in the Sudetendeutschen Press and, of course, these articles are taken up and answered in the Czech papers. There is no violent animosity, but nevertheless the feeling does exist, and in a very pronounced fashion, that German is German and Czech is Czech in Czechoslovakia. That feeling having started, there is no knowing how far it will go. The general elections of May, 1935, give some indication of the Sudetendeutschen determination that is in the process of being forged.

In the Czechoslovakian parliament, elected in 1929, there was no Sudetendeutschen party at all. In the elections of 1935 the Sudetendeutschen polled more than any other party in the country. That shows a unifying spirit if anything does. Even the German Social-Democratic party has been halved and the votes have gone to the Sudetendeutschen party. Everything goes to prove that there is an unmistakable industrial and political unifying movement amongst the Germans of Czechoslovakia. Once this movement gets into swing there is no knowing where it will end. We have seen how the people of the Saar, in spite of an intense French anti-German propaganda, and in spite of all the liberties they would lose, voted over 90 per cent for a return to Nazi Germany. We have seen in the Free State of Danzig how the voting went for a return to the Fatherland, and if free and open plebiscites were held in Austria and Alsace-Lorraine both their peoples would declare for inclusion in Germany. It is the call of language and nothing else.

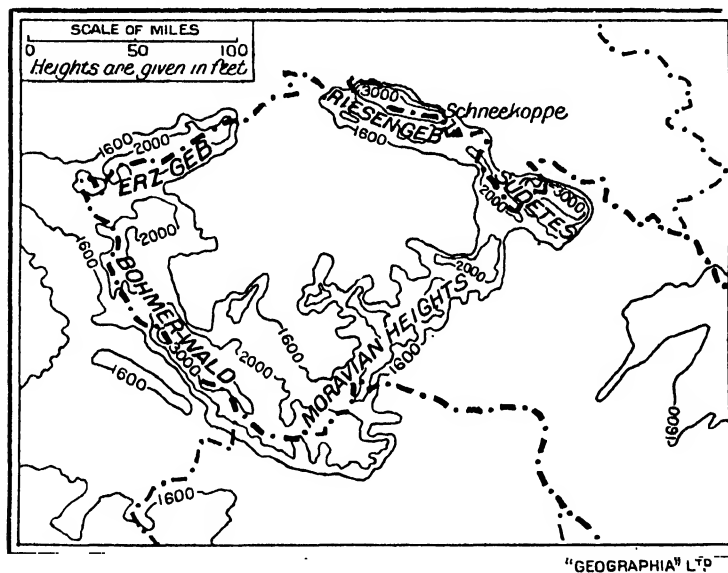
This state of things is going to give the Government at Prague a lot to think about. Should Czechoslovakia be involved in a war with Germany, which she is sure to be if another European conflagration breaks out, it will not be a bit of use expecting the Sudetendeutschen to shoot down their brothers from the other side of the German or the Austrian frontiers. Their whole sympathy will be with the enemies of their adopted country. They will rejoice at every German victory just as the Czechs themselves acclaimed every Russian victory in

the Great War. Everything points that way and must point that way, because they are people of the same language in direct contact with each other on both sides of the common frontier. When the time comes they will go over to their brothers; nothing can prevent their doing so and they are as good as the best soldiers in Czechoslovakia.

It must be admitted that the boundaries of Czechoslovakia are the most natural frontiers that could have been drawn. The Sudeten mountains, the Giant mountains, the Ore mountains and the Bohemian forest protect Czechoslovakia from Germany like a shield, but of what use will that shield be when three and a half million Germans on the Czech side of it, will be striving to help their brothers? There is a vast difference between the Hungarian minority in Transylvania and the German minority in Czechoslovakia. The Hungarian minority in Transylvania is an Enclave-Minority, buried right in the very heart of Roumania, hundreds of kilometres away from the Hungarian frontier and their brother Magyars. But the German minority is on the periphery of Bohemia, coterminous with Germany itself, in continual and direct contact with Germany and, withal, the greatest minority of almost any kind in Europe, only excepting the Ukrainian minority in Poland.

The Germans have no kindred at all with the other inhabitants of Czechoslovakia. Although a large proportion of the Czechs, Hungarians and some of the Slovaks speak German, the Germans hardly ever speak those other languages. The culture of the Germans of Czechoslovakia can never be separated from the culture of the Germans of the Reich and Austria. In a similar way, it can never be identified with the culture of the Czechs, although it often influences it and is sometimes influenced by it. It is a culture as wholly different from that of any of the other races of Czechoslovakia as the Italian is from the English. In a word, there is nothing in common between the Germans and the other inhabitants of Czechoslovakia, whereas they have almost every-

thing in common with the Germans of the Reich. I say again, this German minority is the greatest minority question in Europe by far, and it is going to be one of the greatest problems that Europe will have to face. Yet, strangely enough, the frontiers allotted to Bohemia were practically those that were recognized by Austria before the War, as the administrative frontiers of Bohemia. The Treaty of St. Germain did not alter in any great measure the established frontiers as recognized



THE SHIELD

by Austria before the War. However, this does not apply to Slovakia, because Slovakia was governed by Hungary and formed part of Hungary, whereas Bohemia, which formed part of Austria, a much more liberal country than Hungary, had a certain recognized identity of her own.

Yes, it is a tremendous question, and it is not going to be easy to find a solution. It is probably the most thorny problem that Europe has to wrestle with. After all, the question of Alsace-Lorraine, or the Polish Corridor, or the Anschluss, or the Tyrol could be settled round a

table if only the parties interested were brave enough to take a bold decision for the sake of the peace of the world. The handing over of any of these German territories to Germany would not interrupt in any great degree the usual course of the national life of the country from which the piece of territory in question was transferred, but the question of German Bohemia is a horse of an entirely different colour. In the first place, the Germans in Czechoslovakia represent about a quarter



THE GERMANS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

of the entire nation, and if they were allowed to go the Hungarians would want to go too. That would leave Czechoslovakia one long narrow strip of land cutting a gash through Central Europe. Perhaps few people realize that Czechoslovakia from end to end measures about 550 miles. That is to say, the length of Czechoslovakia from tip to tip is longer than the distance between Italy and Denmark. Yet its breadth in some places does not span fifty miles. As both the German and Hungarian minority territories are situated along the frontiers of their parent countries, Czechoslovakia, if

deprived of these German and Hungarian regions, would become such a very long and very narrow strip of land that she would find it absolutely impossible to defend herself. On the other hand, I do not see how she could defend herself even with the present borders, with hostile Germans and Hungarians totalling four and a quarter millions to contend with internally.

Such is the problem that is going to take all the cunning and patience of Europe if it is ever to be solved in a satisfactory manner for all parties concerned.

The whole riddle will become much more complicated and the danger much more imminent from the moment that Austria decides to throw in her lot with and become part and parcel of the German Empire. The day that happens Bohemia will be almost completely surrounded by Germans, because there are large "islands" of Germans stretching from north to south, from Brünn to Troppau. On the map it looks like a wolf gobbling up Czechoslovakia.

To minimise this danger which threatens her very existence Czechoslovakia should lean towards Poland. The Poles and the Czechs are of almost the same race; their languages are very similar, and history has often linked them together. Their political positions in Europe have much in common, and Czech industry would find a tremendous outlet in Poland, especially if Poland could join up with the three small Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, thus, with Czechoslovakia, forming one vast free-trade federation. As a member of such a federation Czechoslovakia would be able to look upon the German problem with equanimity and be quite prepared for any eventuality; even the possibility of her German minority seceding and joining the Reich.

However, it cannot be denied that the ideal thing would be for Czechoslovakia to continue as it was intended to be: a second Switzerland in the middle of Europe. It would be the greatest of pities if anything should happen to this hard-working, industrious nation, which has given the whole of Europe a lesson in steady

government and true democracy. While chaos has been the rule all round, Czechoslovakia is the one country in the centre of Europe that has kept a steady head and maintained its democratic principles. Czechoslovakia to-day is a properly governed island in a raging sea of dictatorships. In spite of it all, she minds her own



THE WOLF

business and gets on with her own job and does it marvellously well. In fact, she is a new and larger Switzerland in the making. Will history be as kind to Czechoslovakia as it has been to Switzerland and allow it to go on its own way, in its own way, allowing its steadying influence to radiate around it? If that could happen it might alter the condition of the whole of Eastern

Europe with the course of time and lead its neighbouring nations back to the paths of peace and prosperity by her example of good and sane government.

I now come to Bulgaria where, as I pointed out before, I actually went straight after leaving Bucharest. You can go from Bucharest to Sofia by aeroplane in three hours; the Polish air line, Lot, runs a very efficient service from Warsaw via Bucharest and Sofia to Salonika. But if you go by rail it takes at least thirteen hours, even when you are able to use the time-saving Danube crossing. If the Danube is frozen or partially so, however, you then have to go all round Serbia to Nish, and then on to Sofia by the Orient Express; that takes days. Thus, in the Balkans you really get an idea of the speed, comfort and saving of time that an air-service really provides. The Yugoslav aeroplane service—Aeropot—can do Belgrade to Bucharest in three hours comfortably, yet by train you have to leave Belgrade at six o'clock in the evening to arrive at Bucharest about eight o'clock on the following night. There is a quicker service by means of which you can save eleven hours, but it is a very unreliable one and you have to rough it a good part of the way. By this route you catch a Danube steamer at five o'clock in the morning at Belgrade and disembark at a small riverside township called Pancevo. The journey takes about a couple of hours. You have to wait at the pier for a local train to come and pick you up. You jolt along from the pierhead at Pancevo until about midday when you reach Orsova, about seventy miles away. There you catch the same Simplon Express that left Belgrade the previous evening and has come all the way around, which it is bound to do on account of the lack of bridges and the very mountainous nature of the region. The Simplon-Orient train service would be very comfortable if it did not have to go such a long way round. Another air route which Balkan travellers should remember is the Italian air service, Istanbul-Athens-Brindisi. This line does the journey from Istanbul to Athens in under four hours. The Turkish boats take over two days. These boats are very comfortable, and the food is

excellent, but look at the difference between four hours and forty-eight hours, when not more.

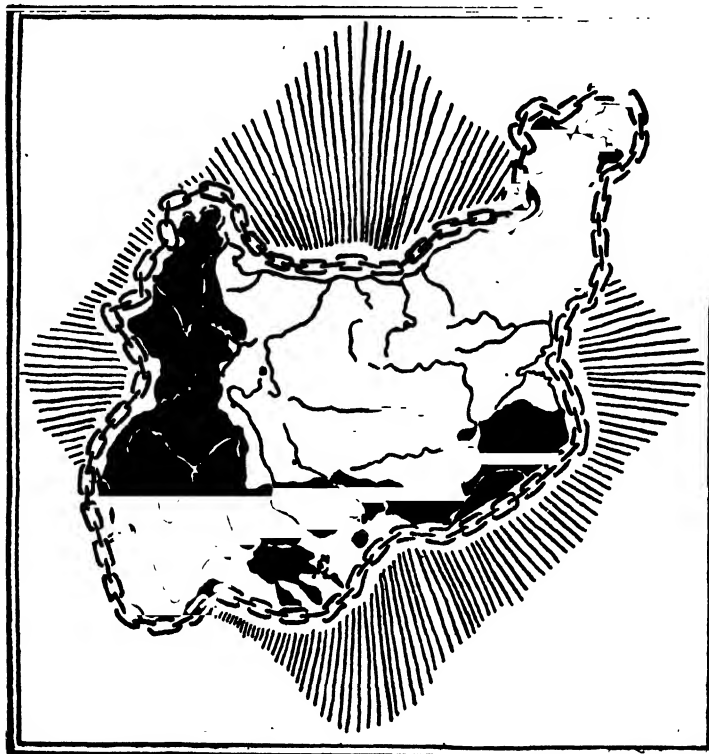
As we were in the middle of winter, the departure of the 'plane was uncertain, so I made for the Danube. The train left Bucharest at about eleven o'clock for Giurgio. The Danube was partially frozen and so the ferries could not cross. I managed to get over in a rowing-boat, which took about an hour and a half. Four men pulled at the oars and a man stood at either end pushing away the large blocks of ice that were floating about on the surface of the river. I scrambled up the other bank of the river and found myself at Ruschuk, on Bulgarian soil. The following evening at about six o'clock—roughly thirty hours later—the train entered the station of Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria.

Sofia is the most depressing place I have ever been in. It looks more like a straggling overgrown village than the capital of a country containing more than five million inhabitants, over a million more than Switzerland, and a territory more than two and a half times the size of Switzerland. The main street of Sofia is one of the poorest shopping centres I have ever seen. When you remember the streets of Belgrade, in spite of all the bombardments and invasions it has suffered—the population fell to something like 18,000 during the War—and think of the busy, active life of that city, with its cafés, its cabarets, its restaurants and its quite good hotels and then look at Sofia, the contrast is astonishing. I cannot remember anything in Sofia to recommend it. Everything looks so poor when not poverty-stricken. You are forced to ask yourself what the people do in the city; there seems to be no life or activity of any description. I remember, during the Balkan wars, we were told that the Bulgarians were the mainstay of the nations fighting Turkey, but for the life of me I cannot see how that was. Everything and everybody seems so slow and dull. There is not only no prosperity in the place, but you look round in vain to find some means that might be used to pull the country out of its deplorable condition.

On account of the Treaty of Neuilly, Bulgaria finds

herself in the same position as her fellow-losers of the Great War : large tracts of territory containing Bulgarian nationals were awarded to other nations. That is to say, Bulgaria is worrying about her external minorities in Greece, Roumania and Jugoslavia. But there is this great difference between Bulgaria and her defeated allies, that whereas Hungary relies on her very skilful propaganda to put her case before the world, and Germany uses political strategy to keep alive the relationship between the Reich and its external minorities, Bulgaria actually instigates her co-nationals beyond her frontiers to violence. So much so that for about fifteen years the Macedonian frontier had almost continually to be kept closed. There is little room for doubt that in a great part of this instigation to violence Sofia is prompted by Italy, who never loses any opportunity of stirring up bad feelings between Bulgaria on the one hand and Greece and Jugoslavia on the other. Certainly Bulgaria has been terribly punished for her sins, but it is her own megalomania that has brought about her downfall. She always seems to back a loser. Her salvation would be to enter into some sort of federation with her brother Slavs : the Jugoslavs. She would then, probably, develop on the same lines as Jugoslavia is doing, and together they would form a large and prosperous State, almost as large as Spain, with good ports on the Adriatic and in the Black Sea. Then right from the Adriatic to the Black Sea would extend a territory which would be Jugoslavian because, after all, the Bulgarians are South Slavs—Jugo means South—just the same as the Croatians or the Serbians are. When I spoke of this union to a Bulgarian minister, he asked me if I had also spoken of it in Belgrade. When I told him that I had done so, he asked me how the Serbs had received the suggestion. I told him that they had spoken very sympathetically about it and said it would be a great ideal if it could only be brought about successfully. The Bulgarian Minister also nodded his head, looked up, smiled and said that a great Bulgo-Jugoslavian State would be a solution to a lot of problems which at present seemed to be insoluble.

"It would, at least, give a different twist to the reputation of the Balkans," I said. "These turbulent Balkan States would have got over their growing pains at last, and would soon be ready to do their share in the fight for progress and civilization, instead of always being at each other's



THE BULGARIAN IRREDENTA

Taken from the Bulgarian newspaper *Otet Paisie*. The lost territories are blacked in, and the whole is surrounded by chains.

throats and never having time to settle down to the peaceful development of their peoples and their countries." "It would be a wonderful thing," he said simply.¹

The Bulgarians have a large internal minority of Turks who, among the Turkish minorities, are worse off than in any other part of the Balkans, not because Bulgaria

¹ See map on page 227.

wishes to oppress them, but for the simple reason she is so impoverished that she has not the wherewithal to improve their sad plight. There are over 600,000 Turks in Bulgaria.

As Bulgaria after the War was forbidden to have a conscript army by the Treaty of Neuilly, the same as Germany, Hungary and Turkey, she introduced Conscript Labour Service for all her citizens, instead of Conscript Military Service. The Conscripts undergo a very severe disciplinary training and are mostly used for national road construction. Except for the use of weapons, the life of a labour conscript in Bulgaria is practically the same as that of a military conscript during his term of service. Besides that, instruction in road-making is also instruction in trench-making, and a great body of men skilled in the art of trench-making may be of the utmost value to Bulgaria if warfare ever breaks out again in earnest in the Balkans. Moreover, what guarantee is there that some day Bulgaria will not once more introduce military service to secure equality with her neighbours, in spite of the Treaty of Neuilly. Germany has done it in spite of Versailles and of French and Italian warnings. Turkey did it too, and in doing it, tore up the Treaty of Sèvres. The French and Italians did not protest to Turkey, they were only too glad to get out of Asia Minor and the mess they had got into there. The Treaty of Lausanne taught the Allies how to behave themselves.

It may be only a matter of getting hold of the arms. Anyhow, in the meantime, she is getting along in her own quiet way with her Conscript Labour Service. Her recruits are called up by their classes just as her soldiers used to be, so that a general mobilization could take place with the same despatch and order as if her men had been drilled with rifles instead of spades. Who knows but that these very conscripts will some day be used in the formation of a federated Bulgo-Yugoslavian army on a large scale?

As there is no aeroplane service between Sofia and Istanbul I had to go by train. The railway-station in Sofia follows the standard of everything else in Bulgaria ;

it looks poverty-stricken. I have never yet seen any railway-station to compare with it. It may look all right in summer, if they happen to have a few flowers around—Bulgaria is still a great country for roses—but in winter, when I was there, it was the most desolate, untidy, dirty and bleak railway-station I have ever had to wait in; and I have been in a great many, in all parts of the world, in my time. After I had been waiting for about half an hour, I asked the station-master how long it would be before the train for Istanbul arrived at the station. He told me that the Simplon Express would be at least two hours late. I therefore went back to the hotel. I returned later on to find out that it still would not be arriving for at least an hour, so back I went to the hotel again. Finally the train came in over four hours late. The Bulgarian railway authorities cannot be blamed for this lateness, as it was due to the lines being blocked by the heavy snowfall; nevertheless, they ought to have received some sort of communication at the Sofia station so that international passengers could know approximately how much delay there would be. But the traffic between Sofia and Constantinople seems to be so insignificant as not to warrant the railway authorities going to that expense. I happened to be the only passenger that day going to Istanbul from Sofia, and I might have been the only one that month from all appearances. But I do not want to give any false impressions. The station-master was as polite and obliging as he could possibly be. The Bulgarians are very stolid, but very decent in every way. If they only had the means, they might become a first-class people on their own, but they actually have not the means. To go on as they are going is to be doomed to eternal indigence and turmoil. When a nation falls to that degree it means they can never settle down to steady development, but they must lead an existence of ceaseless unrest. This condition of things is doubtless the cause of a great deal of the post-War misfortunes of Bulgaria and, what is more, there seems to be no way out as matters are at present. The present lull is only a temporary one, because the root-cause is still there:

when a nation is so poor that it has nothing to lose, every one of its better-placed neighbours becomes its natural enemy.¹ They all have something that it covets. Bulgaria is surrounded by Roumania, Turkey, Jugoslavia and Greece; these four countries stand on a perfect footing of friendship towards each other yet, for the Bulgarian State, each one is an enemy.²

During the Greek revolution—which, after all, was a domestic matter of the Greeks—the Turks had to warn the Bulgarians, because the Bulgarians seemed likely to be unable to resist the temptation that this opportunity offered. But there again, the hand of Italy was clearly behind the moves to take advantage of the troubles in Greece.³ Nevertheless, internal conditions in Bulgaria are such as by themselves to warrant a state of alarm amongst her neighbours, and her internal condition is due solely to her extreme poverty. If only Bulgaria could link-up in some way or other with Jugoslavia! It would be the finest thing that could possibly happen for both sides: it would better the internal condition of Bulgaria, and it would counter-balance the Serbian influence in Jugoslavia. Moreover, federation with Bulgaria would perhaps bring about a proper fusion of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and thus lessen the state of unnecessary administrative friction that undoubtedly exists in the present Triune Monarchy on the Danube.

On arriving at Istanbul, as Constantinople is now generally called, surprise after surprise awaits the visitor who has not visited the city since before the Great War. I could never have imagined such a change. Turkey undoubtedly was the greatest loser of all the countries that fought in the Great War. But she was also the best loser—a brave and courageous loser—who without whining or mud-slinging, immediately got down to brass tacks and not only made the best of a bad job, but actually placed herself on a much better and more solid footing than before her troubles first started in 1912. The Sick Old Man of Europe has been metamorphosed into a very

¹ See page 216. ² See map on page 217. ³ See page 218.

virile and agile youth. Turkey had already begun to show her new self in 1922, when she chased the Greeks into the sea, in spite of the fact that they were heavily backed by the strength of Britain plus Lloyd George. After the Greeks were driven out of Asia Minor, it was not long before the British, French and Italians also made tracks for home and left Turkey in peace. Never was there such a skedaddle of victorious nations: nations with tens of thousands of cannons and millions of rifles, before a crushed enemy. Young Turkey made short shrift of her invaders and then signed the second Treaty of Lausanne on her own terms on 24th July, 1923. Well may the Turks be proud of their post-War achievements.¹

But Young Turkey's military successes are as nothing when compared with what she has achieved in the peaceful development of her country. Before 1912 everything done in Turkey, except carrying heavy loads, was done by foreigners. Foreigners were clerks in the offices. Foreign technicians ran any industry that was to be found in Turkey. Nearly the whole commerce of Turkey was run by foreigners. Even Turkey's principal ambassadors were as often as not Greeks. The ministers of Turkey in Paris, Vienna and Berlin were generally Greeks. The last ambassador but one before the War, at Washington, was a Greek named Mavrogenee. His father was chief doctor to the Sultan: Mavrogenee Pasha. From about 1830 onwards all the Turkish ambassadors to the Court of St. James were Greeks, and in 1907 when a real Turk was sent to England as ambassador—Reschid Pasha—King Edward refused to receive him. It was only on the recommendation of King George of Greece that a Turkish ambassador, Rifal Bey, was finally received. But here again Rifal Bey was married to the daughter of the famous Russian general Rennenkampf: the general who was so victorious in East Prussia in 1914, and who was killed in 1918 by the Bolsheviks. Rifal Bey himself ultimately became Minister of Foreign Affairs in Turkey.

Even at the Berlin Congress in 1878, which was

¹ See page 215.

primarily held to settle the conditions of the Balkans in their relation to Turkey, Turkey was represented by a Greek: Alexander Catheodory. And to go back even further than that; at the drawing up of the Treaty of Karlowitz, which was signed in 1699, between Turkey, Venice, Austria and Poland, Turkey was represented by a Greek by the name of Alexander Mavrocordato. His father was a Greek merchant of Chios. His son Nicholas became Prince of Moldavia and afterwards Prince of Walachia, under Turkish rule. He became notorious for trying to introduce Greek manners, dress and the Greek language into those Danubian principalities. It was a great-grandson of the old Greek merchant of Chios, Prince Alexander Mavrocordato, who was President of the Greek National Assembly in 1882, who first became famous for his resistance to the Turks at Missolonghi, where his friend, Byron, died in 1824.

But now, when you go to Turkey you will find the Turks running their own country and running it marvelously well, all things considered. In fact, I do not know of any country that took an active part in the Great War, either on the winning or losing side, that has made the best of things to such a degree as Turkey has done. Especially when you take all the facets of the case into consideration: the Turkish army was officered to a great extent by foreigners, the navy also; every technical office of importance was held by a foreigner, and all the higher positions in the professions were in the hands of foreigners. The State was run by foreigners. But to-day, hardly twelve years since the War ended for the Turks—they were kept fighting until the end of 1922—in twelve short years the Turks have taken complete charge of their own country and are running it better than ever the foreigners ran it for them. Turkish teachers teach in the schools, Turkish professors teach at the university, Turkish doctors attend to the Turkish sick, Turkish engineers looked after Turkish industry and Turkish architects are responsible for new building construction. Turkish factories are being opened up in all parts of European and Asiatic Turkey, with Turkish administrative staffs and Turkish

personnel. If you walk into a Turkish office you will see Turkish stenographers typing and taking notes. In the shops Turkish men and women attend to the customers. Never was there such a change. Before the War no young woman went to work ; it was almost against their religion. Every girl or lady who went into the street was obliged to wear a veil to hide her facial features. All Turkish males wore a fez, even in their homes and at meals. All that has disappeared to-day. The Turkish girls go to the Hotel Takatlian to the *thé dansant* and waltz, fox-trot and tango as girls do everywhere else in Europe. Turkish girls go to the university just as they do in England or France. Turkish women vote at the elections—which is more than they do in France and Italy. If you go for a walk along the famous Pera Street, it is just like being in any other street in Europe or, if you lounge across the Galata Bridge you will get pushed and jostled by busy city men just as if you were in any commercial thoroughfare in Berlin or London. The old Turkey has disappeared. The old Turkey never belonged to Europe. Young Turkey belongs to nowhere else.

I was walking through one of the outermost districts of Istanbul—outside the real old native quarters not the European side—when I actually saw some kiddies playing hopscotch. I came across a large crowd anxiously waiting outside a newspaper office : they were waiting to see if Turkey had won the Balkan Football Cup. I was strolling through the Serail when I saw a lady teacher, nicely dressed, nicely poised, nicely shod, in charge of a class of young girls, real little ruffians, full of fun and merriment ; she was taking them out for a history lesson. She was showing this class of girls, the most modern of youngsters, how Turkey was ruled but twenty years ago : the most characteristic Asiatic rule in the world. What progress ! What must they have thought of their Sultan, who could command almost any Turkish woman to enter his harem ? What must have been their opinion about a Turkey whose Sultan had hundreds of wives and concubines ? How they must have shuddered to think of all the hundreds of girls who had entered the harem and were never again

allowed outside its walls. And all this was barely twenty years ago! To-day, the young generation of Turks go courting as they would anywhere else in Europe. They crowd into the picture-houses and go to the theatres. Before the War no Turkish girl ever went to the cinema, and as for the theatre, there was no such thing as a Turkish theatre. No girls attended school. It was against their religion for a girl to be educated. Now, at eight o'clock in the morning you see the tramcars pass the Pera Hotel crammed with boys and girls rushing off to school. Before the War it was thought sufficient if the Turkish boys studied the Koran at school; only the foreign schools taught such profane things as geography and arithmetic. To-day, all Turkish children, boys and girls, in Europe or Asia, are obliged to go to school. Universal education is obligatory. All this within twelve short years! What other country in the world has achieved anything like it?

In the old days it was almost an unforgivable sin not to go to the mosque every day. To-day the mosques are all empty. A good many of them are being torn down for building purposes, and the most famous are being turned into national museums. Even in Ramadan, the strictest period of the Mohammedan year, the mosques are half empty. Before the War, in Ramadan, the mosques could never hold the faithful, so many were they. Special services had to be held in the forecourts and even in the street. St. Sofia itself is being redecorated as a church—the famous Basilica of the East—so as to be just as it was before Constantinople fell to the Turks in the Fifteenth Century. This alone shows how the nation has changed within the last twelve years. Surely no religious building has been so jealously defended as this famous mosque that was originally a church. The eyes of the whole Mohammedan world turned to Hagia Sophia—Holy Wisdom—as the Christian world turned to St. Peter's. It was the emblem of the victory of Moslem over Christian. It was in the east of Europe what Cordoba, in the Middle Ages, was in the west. And, strangely enough, both places of worship typify

the intolerance of these two great religions. When the Christians overpowered the Moors in Spain, not only was the Moslem religion to be wiped out, but the whole of the culture of this wonderful people was to be wiped out with it, as something unclean. Something unworthy of Christianity. At one fell blow one of the greatest civilizations of all times was erased from history. Great books of learning and lore were burnt, solely because they were written in Arabic characters ; some of the greatest thinkers of all time were killed and tortured, solely because they were not Christians, and the great Mosque of Cordoba, one of the principal centres of learning in the then civilized world, was practically ruined. A church was built right in the middle of it. Everything that indicated that it was a Mohammedan building was either defaced, plastered over, or destroyed, and this architectural monument itself was practically left to fall into ruin.

The same thing happened with Saint Sophia. When it fell into the hands of the Mohammedans, all that wonderful mosaic-work was plastered over. Some of the most beautiful frescoes this world has ever seen were destroyed and the church was turned into a mosque. When it comes to utter barbarism there is not much to choose between any race, people or religion. The dawn of the Twentieth Century has taught the world a great many things ; not least amongst them that the arts, learning and culture are not the patrimony of any race, people or religion, but that they are the heritage that has come down to us, to be improved by us and to be handed on by us to the coming generations, for the common benefit of civilization, and not to be destroyed or smashed up by any army of fanatics who may think that only theirs is the real law and the true creed. In the beginning of the Twentieth Century defeated Spain began to understand the great wealth of art that her Moorish conquerors had bequeathed her, and started to restore the Cathedral of Cordoba to what it was : a mosque. Thirty years later defeated Turkey is beginning to realize what a wealth of civilization the Byzantine Christians bequeathed

her, and she is now restoring the Mosque of Mosques to what it was : a church.

But the surprising thing about the Turks is the speed with which they are changing. Nobody who has not lived in a Mohammedan country can realize what it means to abolish, overnight, the age-long institution of wearing the fez and the veil. With a less determined and intelligent man at the helm it would have produced a revolution. For some time in advance it was carefully explained that the fez was not enjoined by the Mohammedan religion. All that was prescribed was that the faithful should touch the ground with their foreheads, and that their heads should be covered when worshipping. On going through the bazaars it is quite a common thing to see a Turk praying on his knees wearing a cap with the peak turned round, which fulfils the same purpose. The girls did not require much ordering to do away with their veils. They did it, almost to a girl, in Istanbul on the very first morning. There was some trouble with the elderly ladies, but they were forbidden to wear their veils after a certain date. If after that date a woman was seen in the streets with a veil before her face, the police had orders to tear it off, if the woman refused to remove it. To-day no woman is to be seen wearing a veil in Istanbul.

The Turks changed the alphabet overnight. They went from Arabic letters to a Latin alphabet at one blow. The use of Arabic characters is now forbidden in Turkey, except in connection with historical research. The Turks have now introduced a perfectly systematic alphabet which faithfully portrays their language and pronunciation. This so-called backward people have framed a logical alphabet for their language and introduced it overnight. I have been trying to tell the English-speaking peoples how much better it would be if we had a proper alphabet for our language,¹ but we are still too old-fashioned to dream about a change ; one of these fine days we shall perhaps wake up and follow the example of the backward Turks.

When I spoke to a Turkish Minister about the change in

¹ *The Influence of English* (Williams and Norgate, Ltd.).

the alphabet he said: "Few people have even yet realized the importance of this step. The Turks were looked upon as Arabs because they used an Arabic alphabet. This Arabic alphabet has had more influence on the Turkish people than it is possible to imagine. We had come far too much under the influence of the Arabs, and all this had to be broken. Our only music was Arabic, our arts were Arabic, our culture was Arabic. So great was this influence that not only Europeans but part of the Turkish people themselves believed that they were of Arabic origin. All that is now changed. Turkey has finished with the Arabs and all their kindred peoples. The loss of her Arab territories has been a blessing in disguise for Turkey. She received no benefit from them when they formed part of the Ottoman Empire. For years they paid no contribution and Turkey could never rely on them when she was engaged in warfare. They were always rebellious and never satisfied and, above all, they had an Arabizing influence on the rest of the Ottoman Empire, which held Turkey back for centuries. The Turkey of Suliman the Magnificent cannot be compared with the Turkey of to-day, nor the Arabs of the days of Suliman the Magnificent with the Arabs of to-day. We have to purge the whole of our national existence of everything Arabic. We have to become what we are: Turkey."

And, in fact, they are going ahead with a vengeance. The only music the Turks have had up to now has been of an Arabic nature, but from 1935 onwards it is against the law to chant or play Arabic music in any public place of amusement. Any other sort of music is encouraged. For the first time in Turkish history a musical play was produced last year—1934. The players were both male and female. (No females were ever allowed on a stage in the good old days—hence no theatres.) The words and music were written by Turks and the play was produced by Turks. The theatre is always packed, especially with young girls of between sixteen and twenty years of age. Of course, the whole thing is frightfully primitive but, at least, it is a start in the right direction and, what is more

important, they like it, and that is the principal thing. I found that the Turks are very proud of the fact that they have produced a musical play. It shows the world that they have definitely broken with Arabic traditions and customs.

Everywhere you see soldiers. Soldiers and soldiers and soldiers. They are very poorly clad, but the Turks are determined to satisfy the needs of their army from their own production. The cloth from which the uniforms are made is the poorest and shoddiest it is possible to manufacture. Nevertheless, they look a strong, well-fed and steady lot of lads. They stroll along the main streets, laughing and joking like soldiers in other European countries and, in spite of the poorness of their clothing, they look anything but unhappy. They crowd into the cinemas and laugh as the girls pass just like soldiers in any other country.

What a change has come over Turkey! What effect is this change going to have on the future history of years to come? Is Turkey in the future going to be a mainstay of peace in the East, or is the East going to take a leaf out of Turkey's book and develop on the same lines. If so, what effect is this going to have on Arabia, with an already changing Palestine on her north; on Persia, with a transformed and developing Russia on her north; on Iraq wedged in between Arabia and Persia? And what effect is all this going to have on India, with its teeming Mohammedan millions? Already Turkey has taken one step that no other of the vanquished nations of the Great War has taken: she has forgotten all about her territorial losses and she looks as if she is determined to let bygones be bygones and to look after her new job. She has signed the Balkan Pact with Greece, Jugoslavia and Roumania which guarantees the now existing frontiers and she seems determined to stand by it. This Balkan Pact is of much greater European importance than at first appears on the surface. It not only puts paid to any aggression on the part of Bulgaria in the hope of getting back some of her lost territories by violence, but it also puts a definite stop to Italian designs in the Balkans.

Italy for years past had been looking upon the Balkans and Asia Minor as her future happy hunting-ground, much to the dismay not only of Yugoslavia and Greece—her two natural enemies—but also of Turkey, whom she defeated in 1912, and to whose territories she looked to furnish markets for trade expansion. But Italy's threats and sabre-rattling have only been her undoing. She drove Yugoslavia and Greece into the arms of Roumania and Turkey, and all four drew up and signed the Balkan Pact. While these four Balkan nations were separated and divided they had to face an Italy with over forty million inhabitants who was always on the look-out for any pretext to interfere and never lost any opportunity of stirring up trouble in the Balkans, especially by inciting Bulgaria or Hungary to acts of defiance, if not violence. But the Balkan Pact has changed all that. It means that the forty millions of Italy are faced by over fifty millions of Roumanians, Greeks, Jugoslavs and Turks.

Both the Jugoslavs and Turks are redoubtable fighters, and between them they have a population of well over thirty millions, and that is no longer a laughing matter for Italy. Whatever reputation the Italians, Greeks or Roumanians may have as soldiers to-day, and it has not always been too complimentary to any of them, nobody can deny that the Turks and the Serbs are formidable fighting material. In 1914, at the outbreak of the Great War, the Austro-Hungarians took Belgrade in the first surprise attack. That was no great victory for the Dual Monarchy which contained a population of over forty-five millions, against about four and a quarter millions in Serbia. Moreover, Serbia had just fought two terrible wars and was exhausted, while Austria-Hungary had lived in peace and prosperity for fifty years. Nevertheless, a few weeks later, the Serbs re-organized their forces and wrested the city from the hands of the mighty Austro-Hungarian Empire. They swept the invaders from Belgrade and across the river back to the Austrian side, bag, baggage and artillery. Never was there such a Goliath laid low by such a David. It took Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Germany and Bul-

garia, under Mackensen, probably the ablest of all the German generals, to dislodge the Serbs once more—a year later—from their fortress capital. Such is the fighting-stuff of which the Serbs are made. Right through the Great War the Serbs did not lose a single banner.

The Turks have as good a fighting record as the Serbs. Shortly before the Great War, they had already fought three wars—in 1911-12 against Italy, and in 1912-13 the two Balkan wars. Yet they joined up with the Central Powers, almost as soon as the Great War started, fighting against Britain, France and Russia. They fought tremendous battles in the Dardanelles, in the Caucasus, in Mesopotamia, in Armenia and in Egypt. No city suffered so much from starvation, sickness and misery as Constantinople. After the Armistice Turkey's forts were dismantled, her army disbanded and her arms and artillery confiscated or destroyed. Yet, in 1922, the Turks not only drove the well-armed and well-equipped army of Greece, a special little favourite of Lloyd George's, into the sea, but forced France, Britain and Italy to evacuate the positions they had occupied in Turkey and Asia Minor since the Armistice.

With these two fighting nations, Serbia and Turkey, among the signatories of the Balkan Pact, Italy will have to watch her step, or she may go a step too far and live to repent it.

Bulgaria has refused to join the Balkan Pact. She, evidently, is still looking for a chance to spring on Macedonia or the Dobruja, should any other of the Balkan States be in trouble. She threatened to do so during the recent troubles in Greece, but Turkey moved her troops up to the Bulgarian frontiers and the menace subsided. Just fancy! The Turks protecting the Greeks; and only twelve years after the burning of Smyrna. Well may Kemal Pasha call his followers the Young Turks. They are the Young Turks of an altogether new Turkey. The Turkey that means to make good.

I went to Angora from Istanbul. The train leaves about eight o'clock in the evening and gets into Angora about eight o'clock the following morning. The train

is not fast : it is not meant to be. But it has every other attribute of a first-class European service. The carriages are conspicuously clean and smooth-running, the food is more than excellent—better than I have ever had on a European Pullman—the service is as good as anywhere. But the big surprise is Angora. This town which before the War housed about twenty-five thousand souls, has now a population of over a hundred and twenty-five thousand, and it is growing as fast as ever it can. A dozen or so years ago, Angora was just a collection of mud-brick houses ; to-day it is rapidly becoming a fine stone-built capital. It contains a really first-class hotel, better than anything in Istanbul. The streets are wide and attractive, and the whole place seems surrounded by hills. They have constructed an agricultural college on the outskirts of the city which can well compare with similar educational establishments anywhere in Europe. It was entirely equipped by Germans and has forty German professors to train a future Turkish teaching staff. Each German professor has a Turkish assistant-interpreter who has studied agriculture in Germany and there is a very fine German library. There are also French and American lecturers at the College. This College is meant to be the mother-school of agriculture in the New Turkey. From it the teachers and trainers are to be sent all over Anatolia to form training centres. No longer is agriculture to be carried on on the old Arab lines, but it is to be completely Europeanized. It is really hard to go in amongst the youngsters and believe that they are Turks. I was over six hours in the College and I still had a lot to see.

The ministerial and government offices in Angora I found beautiful buildings and the station as clean and comfortable as any on the Continent, and yet, withal, I was in the middle of Asia Minor ; hundreds of miles from Europe where, only a dozen years before, Angora would never have been heard of but for the fine wool from the goats for which the province of Angora has always been famous.

As I wanted to visit Smyrna, I inquired which was the

route to follow. The shipping agents, Cook's, advised me to take the Turkish line, as they were the best ships for passengers. Ten years ago Turkey had no trading steamers at all; they are now building up a merchant navy. The boats are slow, but the service is the best that could have been hoped for. Nice and clean cabins; very good food. This nation that has never been considered as forming part of Europe at all, is now progressing on the best European lines, and has not borrowed a shilling from outside Turkey since the Armistice. Turkey is trying to carry through her projects of organisation off her own bat, with her own means. She is trying to produce what she needs for her own consumption and to satisfy her needs with her own productions. What an effort she is making, for a worn-out, war-tired old nation.

The burning of Smyrna is one of the greatest disasters that the War produced. Of that wondrous emporium of the Levant, whose name was as famous among the ancients as among modern traders, only a shell along the front is left. What a front that used to be. How gay a city Smyrna was before it was burnt out. A great city of over 400,000 inhabitants has been turned into ashes. Its great warehouses and wharves exist no more. What a seaport was Smyrna with so many great ships lining its quays! To-day hardly any great ships call at Smyrna. There is no need to. That great trade in silk, cotton, carpets, wool, opium, madder, minerals, olive oils, drugs, raisins, figs, sponges, valonia and so many other things hardly exists any more. What a terrible catastrophe it must have been! With the Turkish army in the rear, the fire in their midst and the sea in front, the Greeks had got themselves into a fine old mess. Thousands scrambled aboard the ships at anchor in the bay. There were English, French and Italian warships lying to, just outside, who did not attempt to help the refugees. Tens of thousands threw themselves into the water rather than face either the fury of the fire or that of the Turks. Only the poor Turkish quarter was spared by the flames.

Nobody knows who started the fire. The Turks say

the Greeks did it rather than let the city fall into the hands of the Turks. The Greeks say the Turks fired it, so as to drive the Greeks out of Asia Minor and so establish once and for all their claim to this strip of land on which Homer is said to have been born. The Italians may not be totally exempt from some of the blame. Smyrna had been promised to Italy in 1917, by the Agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne. Goodness only knows for what reason except, perhaps, to pump some new hope into Italy. Things had not been going too well with Italy. There might have been some danger of Italy's making a separate peace. The Italians had never been too well equipped nor too well prepared for war. They had to suffer grave privations both in the towns and in the trenches and the Italians are not so fond of warfare, as to suffer privations gladly. The revolution broke out in Russia in March of that year, so that things did not look too good for the Allies and, probably, the Italians at home were beginning to think they had backed the wrong horse. The Socialists with Claudio Treves at their head came out with "Next winter no trenches." The Pope, with an eye to one part of his flock in Austria, fighting for the Central Powers, and the other eye on Italy, fighting for the Allies, was not too well disposed towards the War, and Giolitti with the Conservative Catholics did not want to go to war with Germany from the beginning. In consequence there were revolutionary riots in certain parts of Italy, especially in the industrial Piedmont and Lombardy, and Cadorna was by no means too sure of his troops at the front. Something had to be done, so the Allies offered the Italians a few more concessions—anything to prevent her from making a separate peace. Things were really looking black for the Allies. Revolution in Russia, and now the danger of a breakdown in Italy. One of the concessions made by the Agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne was that the whole of the Smyrna area was to be given to Italy. Anybody's property was to be given to anybody as long as they did not throw up the sponge. But after that came Caporetto, and then it became a matter of the Allies having to save

Italy and not Italy saving the Allies. During the Peace Conference, the Italians went off in a huff, on account of their not being able to get all their own way about Fiume, and while their backs were turned foxy old Venizelos got the Council of Three to authorize the Greek occupation of Smyrna, and Lloyd George fell for it. But Italy never had any spare love left over for Greece. Ever since Greece had invaded Albania, in the beginning of the War, there had been trouble brewing, and surely Greek attempts to secure Smyrna offered a chance to Italy to show Greece just where she had to get off.

But it is no good crying over spilt milk. Smyrna has been reduced to ashes. That great city is no more. All that is to be seen to-day is one desolate stretch of mangy grass. Very few walls even are left, to show where once stood some of the finest marble palaces on the Mediterranean. Three great prosperous quarters have been entirely wiped out—the European, the Jewish, the Armenian—only the poor Turkish quarter has been left. A city of over 400,000 inhabitants, containing three Archbishoprics—Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Roman Catholic—has not been reduced to a tumulus of stones, because not even the stones have been left: Smyrna has been reduced to absolute nothingness. What a pity that Homer cannot return and write an elegy on the ruins of his native city. How must red-headed Nero writhe with envy, in contemplating how he has been outdone by a far greater fire-bug even than he: the greatest of them all. Yet, still I wonder who was responsible for the arson of Smyrna: the Turks, the Greeks or . . . the Italians? There may be quite a lot of doubt about who the actual incendiary really was, but between finding out who actually set fire to the city and who was responsible for firing it there is a great deal of difference. Nevertheless, one thing is pretty certain, and that is that however many atrocities the Turks may have been guilty of in the five hundred years during which they held sway in the Balkans, they could not have equalled the ferocity with which the Greeks treated the Turkish inhabitants of the Smyrna

district while operating under the protection of the British fleet.

Horror of horrors, what it must have been like in that week of the Smyrna disaster! The Greek army in full flight after its terrific defeat, crowding back on that gay and wonderful city. Thousands upon thousands of undisciplined soldiers, all crowding upon Smyrna which they thought was protected by the Allied fleet. French, Italian and British high-sea fleets in the harbour, not daring and perhaps not caring to get mixed up in the affair, now that the Greek army had definitely met with disaster. The French leaning to the Turks, because Poincaré wanted to get his own back on Lloyd George for having turned the scales on him at Genoa, and also, possibly, because they thought England wanted to internationalize Constantinople and sit tight on the Straits. The British siding with the Greeks possibly because Lloyd George still wanted to do reverence to the policy of Gladstone . . . or possibly for more practical reasons. The Italians not wanting to help anybody, because firstly they thought that Smyrna ought to have been assigned to them; secondly, they hated Greece as a possible rival in some future epoch, and thirdly, they were jealous at the way France was taking the leadership in European matters, and still treating the Italians like Italians. So Italy sat on the fence. In fact they all sat on the fence and nobody helped.

Thousands and thousands of disorderly Greek soldiers pouring into the streets of Smyrna, the Turkish guns in the rear roaring in the distance; the whole city aflame, engulfing men, women and children, old men and old women, kids of two and three years of age; petrol tanks blown into the air sky high; murder and pillage; three mighty fleets just outside not wanting to help; mothers who had lost their own children in their despair helping other people's children in the hope that the other mothers would be helping their children; all and sundry pushing towards the sea . . . throwing themselves into the sea, hoping to be picked up—by whom or what, goodness only knows. Blazing fragments

of buildings flying through the air ; houses collapsing, walls falling, drains bursting and belching their contents into the streets. Rich and poor, young and old, healthy and maimed, strong and weak, all making for the sea, the fire raging on all sides, the Turks in the rear . . . But who can imagine, much less describe such an awesome catastrophe ?

Once everything had settled down again a million and a half Greeks living on Turkish soil were exchanged for a million and a half Turks living on Greek soil. A wonderful piece of human exchange. But it took Smyrna and this human exchange to make the Greeks and the Turks bury the hatchet, after countless years of suffering and hatred, war and famine, persecution and oppression. Therefore, I suppose the whole thing has been justified in the eyes of History. The Greeks and the Turks have come to their senses at last, and Smyrna is the monument.

In order to get to Athens, you land at Piræus, which is a very flourishing harbour crammed full of trading ships of every nationality. As soon as you land, you are struck by the business-like nature of the Greeks. The Greeks really are a European nation in the very best sense of the word. The man who calls a Greek a Greek thinking he is insulting him, deserves to be called what he deserves to be called. Athens is really the most attractive city I know. Naturally it is only a very small town as compared with the great European capitals, but it is a perfect jewel in a glorious setting. It has very good hotels ; one, at least, as good as the very best in Europe. Excellent restaurants and spacious cafés. It has nice shops and a very nice shopping centre. Its water supply is supposed to be the finest, best-equipped and most up-to-date in Europe. The Greeks of Athens are really the most charming people you can meet. They are always polite and always business-like, quick and intelligent. The streets of Athens are spotlessly clean ; they are broad and straight. Everybody seems to be busy ; everybody seems to be doing something, and yet you never seem to get pushed and shoved about as you do on the boulevards

of other cities. The food is very good everywhere. The native taverns and popular restaurants have their own typical foods which are excellent—something entirely different. There is beauty and cleanliness everywhere in Athens. And, wherever you go you can never lose sight of the most marvellous creation of mankind in any age: the Parthenon. There it stands on the Acropolis, gazing down on Athens as it gazed down on those Athenians who not only built Athens but who produced a civilization that has stood as a basis for all other civilizations for the last three thousand years. And during those thirty centuries, the scattered Greeks have gone on giving civilization to the rest of the world. Once again, at last, the Greeks are united within their own frontiers, after two thousand years of foreign domination. Will they again blossom out as they did before when they had their own frontiers? Is that small nation of the Ægean Sea once more destined to light the earth with the torch of civilization and learning as it did before the history of many of the nations of to-day began? Will Italy allow it to go forward on such a mission?

Greece is one of Italy's nightmares. Italy possesses the Dodecanese which are pure Greek and want to be returned to Greece. There is nothing Italian in the Dodecanese which form an exterior Greek minority, about the only remaining one, unless you count the Greek minority population of Constantinople, but that is like the Italian colony in Soho: purely an outcrop. The Dodecanese being purely Greek, it was only on account of European complications that Italy was ever able to take, what was supposed to be, temporary possession of these famous islands. Could Italy be prevailed upon to be fair with Greece and return these Greek islands to their mother country, a mother country that did everything to make those islands famous? Could Italy be prevailed upon to be as generous with this little nation as England and France were with Italy, in those days when Italy was achieving her national unity? Could Italy be prevailed upon to follow the good British political instinct and return the Dodecanese to Greece

the same as we returned the Ionian Isles to her seventy years ago? And the Ionian Isles were much more valuable than the Dodecanese, but to a mother every child is of illimitable value to her, one and all alike, without distinction. If Italy would do that she would make a great little friend in the Mediterranean. If not, goodness only knows, she may be sorry that she did not allow herself to be prevailed upon; in a life and death struggle every little counts. The Allies knew that in the Great War, and when we could not get the whole of Greece to come in with us, we were only too glad for a part of that country to do so. And why were we able to prevail on the Greeks to join in, in parts? Surely the remembrance that we had returned the Ionian Isles to them counted for something.

To-day, racial rivalry exists between Greece and Italy, and not a little of that rivalry is to be attributed to the fact that the Greeks want the Dodecanese, because it is Greek. And the Italians know this and hate them for it. Surely the whole business is not worth the candle. Be generous, O Italy, and give Greece what is Greece's. When you were in pain a warm-hearted England and a liberal France came forward and helped you to repair your disrupted parts. These Dodecanese Islands mean little to you and much to Greece. You will live to be glad of your generous treatment of a small but very thankful nation. It is all she wants from you, but she can give much in exchange; possibly more than you are capable of realizing.

The Greeks have also an interior minority problem which I have already dealt with: the question of the Macedonian Bulgarians. If Greece could only recover the Dodecanese, and if the Bulgarians could only be induced to bury their petty sensitiveness in favour of a Greater Yugoslavia, then perhaps the Greeks could be prevailed upon to give back something that was never theirs. It would mean sacrificing an important tract of territory; but the past history of the Greeks shows that they can rise to really magnificent heights at times, and the time may yet come when the memory of all their

past greatness will overcome any hesitation they may feel in giving back something that they ought never to have taken possession of.

I went aboard an Italian aeroplane that left Phaleron Bay for Brindisi. I took an Italian aeroplane because they are much faster than the British. The Italians do the journey in one-third less time than ours, and I thought I was being clever by taking the faster aeroplane. But if I had only known! I arrived in Brindisi with a headache that took me two days to get over. The British 'plane arrived in Phaleron Bay from India. A slow, steady, even-running machine. She floated down upon the waters of the bay as if she had just been round for a joy-ride. It takes three and half hours to go from Athens to Brindisi by an Italian aeroplane. An hour is an hour, so in the Italian 'plane I went. Afterwards I wished that I had not put so much value on sixty minutes.

The only thing worth remembering about Brindisi is that it still retains the actual Roman columns that mark the end of the Via Appia. For the rest there was nothing in Brindisi to keep me there. Nevertheless, the arrivals with the British 'plane got away six hours earlier. There is something positively marvellous about the British: they never hurry, they are slower than anybody else, yet they always manage to get there quicker. I do not know when the passengers of the British 'plane reached Rome, but we, who had travelled by the Italian 'plane, did not arrive there until exactly nine o'clock next morning, in spite of the fact that we had arrived in Brindisi at two o'clock the previous day. That is to say, we had taken longer than a Roman general would have taken two thousand years before, travelling in a chariot along the Via Appia.

I had not been in Rome for over twenty years. A lot has been done, yet nothing has been done. A war has come and gone, yet we were still in the days of Rienzi. Rome, as then, is everything, because it recalls the great days of the Romans. Everything is being done for Rome. Nothing is being done for that great minority for whom a victorious Italy accepted the responsibility. Over the

triumphal arch at Padova it states how many guns and how many prisoners General Diaz took in the final collapse of the Austrians, but it does not say anything of the promises that Italy made to the Croats and the Slovenes who had contributed so much to that Austrian collapse, and who became part and parcel of Italy by the Peace Treaties.

The following is the Italian proclamation to the Croats and the Slovenes as the Italian army drove forward to give the *coup de grâce* to an Austria already in her death throes, an Austria decimated by Russia, decimated by Roumania, decimated by Jugoslavia, decimated by Czechoslovakia and decimated by Poland ; one of the most deserving empires that had ever ruled over subject nations, judged by her governance in modern times :

“ Italy, the great state of Liberty, will give you the same civic rights as to her other subjects. She will give you schools in your own language, more numerous than Austria did. Your religion will be respected, because the Catholic religion is that of all Italy. Rest assured that Italy, powerful and victorious, will take care of her citizens, *no matter what their nationality.*”

And what has Italy done ? When the district belonged to the Austrian Empire there were 540 Yugoslav schools. The instruction was in the vernacular. To-day there is not a single school left in those parts except where the instruction is in Italian. There were nearly a thousand Yugoslav teachers, teaching their own people in their own schools when these parts belonged to that tyrannically oppressive Austria. Under the liberty-loving Italy, there are not only no Yugoslav schools, but also no Yugoslav teachers. And that is not all ! They are not even allowed to hear sermons in their own language in church. The sermons must be in Italian. A mother can speak to her daughter, in the street, in French, German or even Chinese, but she hardly dare speak to her in Slovene or Serbian. A language teacher may teach French, German,

Siamese or even the click languages, but he must not teach Slovene in the Slovene part of Italy. No newspapers are allowed to be printed in Slovene or Croat languages, nevertheless there are English, French and German newspapers printed and circulating in Italy. The Croat and Slovene population are even being obliged to Italianize their names. At the schools the authorities actually oblige the children to change their names into Italian ones. If a child is born the parents are obliged to give it an Italian name, otherwise the registrar will not issue a birth certificate.

Up to the time of the Italian occupation of Venetia Julia—the Yugoslav part of New Italy—the Croats and Slovenes possessed, altogether, over five hundred clubs: sports clubs, gymnastic clubs, societies for reading, singing and choral associations. In very many instances the educational organization of the Slovenes and Croats had their own club-houses. These have all been forced to close down. Some of them were even stormed and destroyed by the Fascists.¹ Slovene singing teachers are not allowed to give singing lessons in their own language, although they can give them in any other language. A special law was passed in 1927 to prevent any Yugoslav student, of Italian nationality, from attending a foreign university.² The circulation of primers in the Slovene language is looked upon as an inimical action against the

¹ The famous Narodni Dom, in Trieste, which possessed a Slovene theatre, a very large Slav library and a Slovene school of music, was burned down, purposely, in the summer of 1920. In fact the tenth anniversary of the burning down of the Narodni Dom—1930—was celebrated publicly and the Fascist civil and military authorities attended the ceremony, in spite of the fact that some Croats and Slovenes lost their lives in the fire. It is looked upon as a glorious event, like, in Germany, the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*. However, the difference does exist that the Germans, at least, had the excuse that they were at war with Britain and the *Lusitania* was an enemy ship, whereas the burning down of the Narodni Dom was a disgraceful act of terrorism perpetrated against their own fellow-citizens.

² An ordinary Italian subject can do so and his degrees are recognized, whereas degrees obtained by Slav subjects of Italy at foreign universities are, without exception, not recognized in Italy, and the bearers are not allowed to use them.

State.¹ Anything in Venetia Julia can be an inimical action against the State: If a Slovene or Croat displays any national sympathy at all for his own Yugoslav people he is looked upon as a dangerous citizen and is under permanent police surveillance and receives what is called a political admonition. Such a person must not be out of doors after sunset and he may not leave his house before a fixed time. The police may enter his house at any time during the night to see if he is there. They can even enter his bedroom, where he may be sleeping with his wife. If he wants to go anywhere outside his district he has to apply for a written permit from the police authorities to be able to do so. Amongst the inhabitants of Venetia Julia it is a common thing for very respectable Italo-Yugoslav citizens to be obliged to have their finger-prints on their identity cards.²

The Italian Government is determined to make this Italian-Yugoslav population blot out its Yugoslav origin in everything and to become Italian not only in language but in religion and in its very names. Mind you, I am not saying that the Italians have chosen the wrong method of procedure. In my book *The Influence of English*, I clearly prove that a common language is the most potent of all ties. As long as the Slovenes and Croats of Italy speak Slovene and Croatian, there will always exist the longing to go to their brothers just across the frontier. There is a vast difference between an enclave minority and a coterminous minority.³ These Slovenes and these Croats are the same people as the Slovenes and the Croats of Jugoslavia. Italy will find it impossible to blot out their language not because she is using the wrong means but because no means of doing it exist. The Hungarians tried it for hundreds of years . . . and failed. As long as there are Slovenes and Croats on the other side of the frontier, it will be impossible to exterminate

¹ One young man, Slavko Tuta, of Tolmin was deported for three years to the island of Lipari for this terrible crime.

² In Italy, adults are obliged to have identity cards with their photographs on. However, only in the case of criminals do the authorities affix the finger-prints on the identity card.

³ See map on page 212.

the Slovene and the Croatian languages in Italy, no matter what oppression Italy may employ. History shows this only too clearly.

In her present treatment of this minority Italy is clearly breaking a contract that it entered into with the Slovenes and the Croats. Not only on account of the pronouncement made by the Commander of the Italian troops on entering Gorizia, but also in view of a promise given by one of the Italian delegates at the Peace Conference. He said :

“ Like the other Great Powers, Italy is not bound by any legal stipulation to observe these Minority conditions, but in my opinion, she is, by reason of those liberal traditions which are her glory and her privilege, under a great moral obligation to act in the same way. Those people of alien nationality who are united to us must know that all idea of oppression or denationalization is foreign to us ; that their language and their cultural institutions will be respected, and that their administrative officials will enjoy all the privileges resulting from our liberal and democratic legislation.”

Now that was the promise given to the Yugoslavs. There was to be no oppression of the Yugoslav minorities in any shape or form. They were going to have “ more numerous ” schools than Austria gave. Their religion was going to be respected. Their institutions were going to be respected. They were going to be allowed special privileges for their administrative officials. In short, they were going to be favoured in every way possible so as to make them feel satisfied that they had become a part of that great and liberal Italian nation, and to console them for not having been allowed to go over to their brother Croats and Slovenes of the Triune Kingdom.

But what do we find? Not a single school in their own language, in spite of the promise that such schools were to be more numerous than under Austrian rule. Not a single schoolmaster who can be called Yugoslav

by the farthest stretch of imagination, in spite of the fact that there were over a thousand when these provinces belonged to Austria. Their religion was to be respected, because it is the same religion as that of Italy. The Italians have seen that it is going to be the same, with no difference whatsoever. They are not allowed even to have sermons in their own language. Nothing can be publicly uttered in any Yugoslav language. Those languages are to be entirely replaced by Italian, whether the faithful understand the sermons or not. That is what religion is for. Surely if the Italian language is good enough for the Italians in their churches, it must be good enough for those illiterate Croats and Slovenes. And, mind you, the Croats and Slovenes are illiterate; there is no mistake about that. The illiteracy amongst the Slovenes up to the War amounted to nearly 15 per cent. But at the same time it amounted to nearly 38 per cent for all Italy. As for the special privileges granted to the administrative officials, if they do not join Italian associations belonging to the Fascio they are looked upon as public dangers and treated as such. That is their special privilege. More than that, if their children do not belong to some Fascist organization such as the Ballila, they lose their jobs for not forcing their children to join up. That is to say, if the kid does not belong to the Cadet corps the father cannot be much of an administrative official: he may even be a traitor to Italian liberalism and liberty. The boys are even forced into the legions of the "Ballila" and the girls into the formations of the "Piccole Italiane" against the express wishes of the parents who might look upon these organizations as societies whose aim it is to crush their own racial characteristics.

The kiddies can never have religious instruction in their own language: it has to be in Italian. Yugoslav priests are not allowed to officiate: they have to be Italian. Even the kids are not allowed to learn the meaning of the "Lord's Prayer" in their own language, which, surely, is the most elemental right of any of the faithful belonging to the Catholic Church: it has to be in Italian. Also the

Jugoslav monks who enjoyed such prosperity under Austrian rule have been forced to leave their monasteries: their places have been taken by Italian monks. Even the Pope, Benedict XV, has seen fit to condemn the sacrileges committed against a peaceful people. And the funny part about the whole thing is that the Slovenes have shown the utmost loyalty to Italy. They have never displayed the slightest inclination to do anything that might make the Italians think that they were disloyal; even in thought. Because the Slovenes have never yet been independent. Before they belonged to Italy, they belonged to Austria; so that they have never yet enjoyed their own national liberty. But their Press has been closed down. Papers that had been in circulation for over fifty years under tyrannical Austrian domination are not allowed to appear now under liberty-loving Italian rule. *Il Popolo di Trieste*, in one of its editions, somewhere in the beginning of March, 1927, puts the Italian official point of view clearly before its readers. "Let us destroy the Jugoslav newspapers; let us dig the sword down into this festering wound and squeeze out the boil without mercy." Their cultural associations have been raided and destroyed. Even their musical and choral societies have been suppressed in one way and another. Printing houses and publishing concerns have been ruthlessly closed down and a Commission has actually been formed to impose Italian names on the Jugoslav population. Anyone using his own name when once it has been Italianized is liable to be fined anything from £5 to £50. That is the condition in which the Croats and the Slovenes find themselves to-day in Italy.¹

¹ These are only a few examples of how the Italians are treating this Jugoslav population that was entrusted to them by the Peace Treaties. It cannot be adduced that it is as a reprisal for the Jugoslav treatment of Italians living in Jugoslavia. There are about 15,000 Italians actually living in Jugoslavia, of whom 6000 have opted to remain in Jugoslavia and to retain their Italian citizenship. They live their lives as peacefully as any other inhabitants of Jugoslavia. Nothing is done to interfere with their language, their religion, or their mode of living. Taking the statistics from an Italian source, I see that they have, in the Dubrovnik and Split districts, ten schools for 624 pupils. They have all the clubs

Until quite recently the Germans of the South Tyrol fared almost as badly, but since Germany has become stronger, physically and politically, the Italians have climbed down a peg or two and the Germans under their rule are now favoured with somewhat better treatment. Still the Italian delegate to the Peace Conference used the following words :

“ To the population of the German South Tyrol we can give the assurance that we shall never introduce there a rule of police compulsion, of persecution and tyranny, such as the inhabitants of Istria and the Trentino were subjected to for so many years by the Austrian Government.”

Well, that's that ! Why argue about it ? Why go into details ? The Germans and the Jugoslavs are both coterminous minorities, and being coterminous minorities they must inevitably gravitate towards their brothers across the frontiers, sooner or later. It may take five years : it may take ten years ; it may even take fifty years, but sooner or later it is bound to happen. There were only two solutions as far as Italy was concerned. Either keep them as long as possible by civilized means, or Italianize them by sheer brute force to such a degree that a couple of generations hence they would have become so Italianized as to feel that they were positively Italian. The Italian Government decided to adopt the second process. Sooner or later it will fail. Far greater nations than Italy have tried it, and have failed. The process has lasted, sometimes, for hundreds of years, but it has eventually failed. The persecuted nations always rise and bring down their persecutors.

Italy herself has been one of the greatest examples of this historical truth. The Italians have been persecuted

and societies they wish to support : reading-rooms, libraries, sports clubs and choral societies. These Italian figures quote twenty-three clubs with a membership of about 4000 in the Dubrovnik and Split area alone. They have Italian banks and they are allowed to carry on their business as they think right, without any interference from the public authorities in Jugoslavia.

on almost every side, torn into a hundred parts and divided against themselves. In the end they rose against their greatest persecutor in the moment of her greatest struggle and brought her down, until Italy finally became a united nation. Yet this very liberty that Italy strove for, through the centuries, as a torn minority component of other nations, she denies to her own subject minorities. The way Italy is behaving is the quickest way to lose her minority provinces. I should have imagined with her own great history, one of the greatest histories that Europe has ever known, pulsing with drama and tragedy, that Italy, with all the advantage of her tremendous experience, would have turned to her Slovenes and to her Croats and said: "Look how your brothers are faring in Jugoslavia, and how much better off you are under the Italian banner of love and liberty." She should have showered benefits on them to such a degree that it would not have paid them to go over: that in the most desperate moments they would never have wanted to go over. If Italy had done that the world would have been able to look up to her with respect and the Croats and Slovenes would have looked upon Italy as a loving foster-mother and not as a harpy step-mother. It would have made them hesitate through the years to come, long and carefully, before giving up their actual life of liberty and prosperity; before deciding to throw in their lot with their brothers across the frontier. "O Italy! You who have made history; you who have suffered as no other nation in history; you have learnt nothing from history!"

This concludes the minority question in Europe as far as this book is concerned. There is no problem so dangerous and so difficult of settlement. Yet it is the one great problem that must be settled. It is really the only problem existing in Europe which can be the direct cause of war, and it is going to be the direct cause of war, no matter what pronouncements may be made by responsible ministers and rulers. The minority problem is a pent-up problem and it will have to be settled, otherwise it will burst upon Europe with the full blast of war

and settle itself. Up to the War, there were really only three countries affected by interior minority problems : Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia, the three empires which were smashed in the Great War. Germany was brought low, Austria-Hungary was torn to pieces and Russia went up in flames. The Peace Treaties were so badly drawn up that they left great gaping wounds in the conquered nations. All the conquered nations have exterior minorities now instead of interior ones.

The peace treaties have left the conquered nations in a condition which does not make them fear the result of an unsuccessful war. A war is a gamble like anything else ; it is a question of odds. If a nation is prosperous and has everything to lose and nothing to gain, she keeps out of war as long as she possibly can. There is very little in a successful war to attract her and the losses that she might have to face in an unsuccessful war frighten her. Whereas a nation that has everything to gain and nothing to lose will venture very lightly into an armed conflict, and will face long odds on this account. If they lose, their condition will not be much worse than before they started, whereas if they win they will make the losers pay heavily, because they have the wherewithal with which to pay.

To-day, Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria are in this position. All their neighbours have something that they covet. An unsuccessful war cannot deprive them of any more of their lands, whereas a successful war will return a large portion of their own people, now subjects of other lands, to their fold. On the other hand, all their neighbours can be bled white. So that a future war with things as they are will probably find Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria lined up alongside each other. Against them, will be grouped the nations containing interior minorities belonging to those countries : France and the Little Entente. Russia is sure to join in a war in which Germany is concerned because she will be forced to do so by Germany. No war could be worth while to Germany, as things stand, without some compensation in Russia, for many reasons. The German policy, since

Hitler has come to power, seems to be more pointedly aggressive towards Russia than ever it was before the Great War of 1914-18.

Now since the Balkan Pact has been signed it seems practically definite that Turkey and Greece will throw in their lot with the Little Entente, especially if Bulgaria stands alongside the Central Powers. There are two other nations left whose attitude is doubtful: Italy and Poland. We do not know what arrangement has been made between Poland and Germany about the Polish Corridor, but some secret arrangement certainly exists, otherwise the ten years' truce would never have been signed.¹ Poland covets a long strip of the Ukraine that will give her Odessa.² This would be much more valuable to her than the Corridor. If this arrangement does really exist, and really sensible statesmen do admit the possibility of it, it will mean that on whatever side Russia stands, Poland will be against her. This leaves us with Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland on the one hand, against France, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Jugoslavia, Greece and Turkey on the other. Now, we do not know how far Czechoslovakia will be able to help. The Germans and Hungarians who form well over four millions, something less than one-third of the Czechoslovakians may decide to go over to their brothers beyond the frontiers or, worse still, may cause so much disturbance as to make the collaboration of Czechoslovakia valueless from a military point of view. There now remains the question of Italy. And Italy can certainly be a very decisive factor in a struggle of forces of this description. Italy, however, will give her aid to the side most willing and able to help her to achieve her irredentist ambitions. The Italians want to possess Nice, Corsica and Tunis. And these are all French. Whatever dominance Italy obtains over Abyssinia will not abate the covetousness she feels for these French territories—it may even whet her appetite!

¹ In the meantime there have been overtures for an alliance between Germany, Poland and Hungary. See footnote on page 95.

² See map on page 110.

France can never be made to cede anything. France has no diplomatic sense when it comes to concessions. This is amply proved by the French attitude with regard to the Saar plebiscite. The French administrative officials must have known that there was not a ghost of a chance of the plebiscite going against Germany. They were on the spot and they had every chance of sounding the Saar pulse. France might have waived the voting, and thus have avoided all the animosity that that plebiscite called forth. But she did no such thing. She insisted on her pound of flesh. The result was a stupendous success for German propaganda and it made the French look very small indeed. The Germans came away with over 90 per cent of the votes. The French call only mustered 2083 votes. The Germans polled 476,089 votes. That just shows the French character. By waiving the plebiscite the French would have lost nothing, and they would have earned for themselves the goodwill and the thanks of the German nation. As it is, the Saar plebiscite is looked upon as a victory in Germany; and the French nation have been made to look very ridiculous. They have suffered a great defeat.

Such being the case, how do you expect France to make Italy a present of Nice, Corsica and Tunis for her help in a possible struggle in which she may become involved with Germany? Germany will be able to promise Italy everything she wants, and she will probably do so; and if Italy agrees to return the Tyrol and recognize the Anschluss, she will probably help Italy in trying to secure Algeria as well. However, in any case, Italy will bargain about her entry into the next war and she will go with the side that can offer her most, which naturally will be Germany. This might alter the whole aspect of affairs. The Italians may not be much as an army, but if the Germans can only get possession of their arms and their ports it is going to make a great difference to the result of the War. The behaviour of the Italians in the Great War really made more difference than the average Briton realizes. If Italy had entered the War against the Allies, in 1914, it would have meant that France would have been

obliged to have kept a part of her army on the Italian frontier. That would have spelt the end of the War almost before it had begun. But as the Italians declared a policy of neutrality at first, this meant that the French could use practically their whole army against the Germans. When the Italians finally decided to enter the War on our side, it was because we had been able to promise them more than the Austrians could offer, because practically everything we offered Italy in payment of her collaboration belonged to Austria.

It was a very critical moment for the Allies. The Russians were smashed and almost done for. The Naval attack on the Dardanelles had proved to be a failure. The French were bearing more than they could carry in the West of Europe, so that they could not be expected to lend any help to the Russians. This was the state of affairs when Italy entered the War against Austria with 35 divisions of soldiers, 1500 field pieces and 750,000 rifles. Whatever else it did, it relieved the pressure of the Austrians on the Russians. Otherwise they would have been out of the War long before 1917, and there would not have been time for the British army to have been trained and armed ready to go into the field.

The same thing may happen again in the next war. The trouble will probably start in the East. The cause will be Japan. England, America and Russia will be engaged with Japan in the Pacific, and Japan is going to be a handful. Germany sees her chance and chances her arm. Poland wants Odessa in exchange for the Corridor and joins in. France is called on to help Russia, and to help herself. Hungary attacks Czechoslovakia which brings in the Little Entente. Bulgaria attacks Jugoslavia and the other two signatories of the Balkan Pact—Greece and Turkey—are called upon to fulfil their obligations. Italy remains sitting on the fence until she finds out how the wind is blowing. Germany will offer her anything belonging to France that she cares to take. If the Central Powers lose the war then Italy will lose the Dodecanese and the Slovene and Croat provinces. If they win, she gets Nice, Corsica and Tunis. A worth-

while gamble as far as Italy is concerned, but against that, she has to weigh up very carefully what the odds are of the Central Powers winning. It is not going to be a repetition of 1914, when her entry against France at the beginning of the War would have made all the difference. Then almost every nation had everything to lose if they had only known. Now they all do know, and they all know also that it is not going to be a military pageant for anybody. . . .

And there, in the Orient, is the one great military and naval power who has never tasted defeat and who has tremendous possibilities of expansion if only she is allowed to go ahead. It may mean war. But it does look as if Japan is determined to go ahead : war or no war.

Ourselves

IN order to find out what is wrong with our own country and see how best to put it right we shall have to go back a little. The year 1914 found us very well off: quite satisfied with the good things of life, which we had in plenty, as compared with the other nations of Europe. In fact, it took a great war to show the world, and also the British themselves, what a tremendously rich and powerful community the City of London really was. The whole world was controlled from London. London was not only the hub but the nerve-centre as well of the capital resources of the world, and it controlled the movement of all those resources. No mine of any importance could be opened up without some intervention from London. No new international railway could be started without knowing what the City thought about it first. No invention worth while could do without London. The insurance of the whole world was largely centred in London. The shipping of the whole world was in the control of London. Everything that had to do with capital or the movements of capital depended on London. No small war could be started without the belligerents fearing what London would do in the matter. The German banks used to create the impression of progress and development, but all their exterior operations had to be guided by what London did and thought. The Paris Bourse could cause a lot of excitement in its way but, outside France, all its operations had to be undertaken with both eyes on London. The City of London was everywhere; quiet, unobtrusive, well-behaved, no panics, no fuss, plenty of jokes, but its tentacles held the whole world in its embrace.

Nevertheless, it took a great war before the British, not to speak of the rest of the world, became aware of how tremendously extended the ramifications of London really were. It not only controlled the Industry of Britain, but with its Banking, Insurance, Shipping and Broking, it had decisive power over Industry all over the globe. The vastness and the intricacy of this immense network of machinery are beyond all means of calculation. Right to the farthest ends of the world its invisible power stretched : to the lumber-camps of Canada, to the estancias in the Argentine, to the diamond mines of South Africa, to the great water-dams of Egypt, into the Soudan, into China, into the French Colonies, into the Dutch Colonies, into Germany, into Russia, into Persia, into Arabia, reached the fingers belonging to the hands, belonging to the thousand arms, that stretched forth from the City of London. Its feelers were everywhere and every financial movement of any importance in the world, somehow or other, in some form or other, found its way to the City. It was an epoch of such terrific greatness that was never even suspected. In this epoch the power of London was so great and so far flung that no one realized it because no one could even imagine it. The War closed that epoch.

The end of the War found us faced with new problems. We could no longer live on the past and develop the past into the future as we had been doing for over a hundred years. We had turned from an immense creditor nation into a debtor nation. Before the War the prosperity of every nation in the world used to contribute something towards our own prosperity. Now there were no prosperous nations. Even those nations that had not joined in the War, and had become rich for the time being in consequence, found themselves unable to maintain their temporary prosperity while they were surrounded by only bankrupt neighbours. There is a great difference between being a neutral country and selling to the belligerents in time of war and holding on to your money, by hook or by crook, once the war has finished. So crushing were the debts, internal and external, which

both victors and vanquished had to face, that special restrictions had to be imposed to prevent capital, in any shape or form, from leaving most countries—even the neutrals had to impose them. Furthermore, duties of every description were levied by nearly all countries to prevent goods from entering, and thus the outflow of capital was still further restricted. Every country suddenly became attacked by a mania for being self-contained. Nobody wanted to buy anything from anybody. Everybody wanted to manufacture for their own needs in their own country, so as to stop the outflow of capital. To do this in many lands import duties so prohibitive had to be imposed to such an extent as to make the lives of the inhabitants unbearable. But such was this mania for being self-contained that no argument, however logical, was of any avail against it. Small agricultural countries with no possibilities whatever of industrial expansion began to put up factories to manufacture their own goods for their own consumption. In order to keep these factories alive in face of the competition of fully industrially developed countries the duties that had to be imposed were beyond all reason. The result was that these nations became more poverty-stricken than ever, and the benefits and advantages that nature had provided them with had to be sacrificed to the Moloch of Self-containedness.

In Roumania they have constructed a locomotive works. The Roumanians are very proud of their locomotive works. It is no longer necessary to buy railway engines from abroad, because they can make them themselves. In a similar way they are manufacturing cloth, machines, aeroplanes—everything so as to become self-contained. They can build about eighty locomotives a year. The result of this is that the cost of their locomotives is prohibitive, and they are nothing like so serviceable as those which could be bought from France or Germany. The cloth they are manufacturing is not nearly so good or so cheap as cloth they could buy from England. The aeroplanes in which their aviators are risking their lives are not comparable in safety or cheapness

with aircraft they could obtain from America. And so the whole story goes on all the world over.

Nature has given Roumania three great sources of wealth: oil, wheat and timber. It should therefore be the first thought of responsible governors in Roumania to render the lives of their citizens as cheap to live, and as prosperous as possible, to enable them to compete successfully in the world-markets with their oil, wheat and timber. The Roumanian Government, by forcibly keeping out the better and lower-priced industrial products of other nations by illogically extortionate duties, are only raising the cost and lowering the standard of living of their people, and this in turn artificially increases the cost of their own products, to such an extent that Roumania cannot compete in the markets of the world with her oil, wheat and timber, as she could before the War, before this bug of Self-containedness had entered her blood. Every country should concentrate on developing the resources that nature has endowed it with. But this self-sufficiency mania has spread like wildfire all over the world; every little country is starting factories so as to be self-contained, thus making their own natural resources too costly to export, and so the series of crises with which the nations have had to contend since the War, goes on interminably. The Spaniards are not selling their oranges, the Danes are not selling their lard, the Serbians are not selling their pigs, the Austrians are not selling their bentwood, the British are not selling their coal, the Brazilians are not selling their coffee, the Canadians are not selling their wheat, because everybody wants to sell and nobody wants to buy. Everybody wants to be self-contained and the City of London is feeling the pinch, because the City of London lives on the business of the world, on the nations buying and selling each other's products, on lending our money for industrial growth, on financing the development of natural resources, wherever they exist, on carrying the exchange of products in our ships and insuring them while they are passing from buyer to seller. Free commerce has broken down.

Self-containedness holds the field, and the world is paying for it by not being able to proceed along the right lines to recovery.

Now among the principal causes of the whole mess-up were the financial obligations imposed upon Germany after the War. Before hostilities ended it was understood that there were to be no reparations and no debts, but once the Germans were counted out it became an altogether different matter. Germany was going to be mulcted to her full capacity to pay. But nobody knew what Germany's capacity to pay was. What the French did know was, that Germany had made a great miscalculation in her estimate of France's capacity to pay in 1871, and they were not going to make that mistake. In 1871 Germany demanded of France a war indemnity equal to two hundred million pounds (five milliards of francs). Bismarck was assured that the payment of that sum would keep France financially crippled for always. However, what was Germany's surprise to find the whole indemnity paid off in two years and France once more sparring for war. France was not going to commit an error of judgment of that magnitude, when it came to settling the financial conditions with Germany. Germany would have to be crippled financially for ever, so as to keep her out of war for the rest of all time and also, possibly, to break up the German Empire into several parts as it was before 1870. Then France would remain the undisputed dominant military power in Europe. But do what they could the financial advisers of the French negotiators could not come to a decision upon the amount that Germany should be made to pay, which would have the crippling effect desired. Fantastic sums were mentioned that the whole world put together could not produce. In the end a formula was decided upon which laid down no fixed sum, but left it that Germany pay according to her capacity to pay, so that as her financial condition varied so would the amount of her payments.

This really meant that Germany was to be forced into eternal financial servitude to France, and nothing else.

It was no use for Germany to try to pull herself together because the better her internal conditions became, the more she would have to pay France. England had long before declared through the mouth of Balfour that we did not want any war indemnity. These financial stipulations were so onerous that all faith in German credit vanished. Germany was being given no chance at all of achieving prosperity. The German mark went to pieces. Never in the history of any normal country has such chaos been known. The German people themselves considered it useless to try to save money, because all their savings would be commandeered by France as a matter of course, so nobody saved anything. Everybody spent all they possessed or sent their money abroad. Disaster loomed. The mark fell and fell. German merchants refused to take payment from foreign countries in marks, but only in the money of the country concerned, and then left the money in that country instead of bringing it back to Germany.

There was no stopping the fall of the mark now. Whatever money the German industrialists possessed in Germany they invested in the betterment of their plant, because the mark only kept on falling. Paper marks were unloaded on every country in the world for any price they would fetch, only to get the proceeds invested outside Germany. Waiters used to rush through the restaurants, while the public were eating, to alter the price of victuals, as the mark kept on falling. It did not even pay to make new bank-notes—the new value was just stamped across the old ones. Twenty marks in gold became worth a million marks in paper, or more. Municipalities and councils spent money lavishly in public works, public baths, town halls and every sort of public building, because it was no use holding on to the money. German currency became worthless in Germany. The Germans only wanted dollars, pounds, francs, pesetas, or almost any foreign currency, and you could have all the millions of marks you liked for them. Germany became a hive of industry. The whole world went to Germany to buy. German goods wiped out all others from the world

markets. The Germans paid their wages in paper marks and sold their wares for foreign currency, which they invested abroad or spent in buying raw material. The value of German industry rose as the mark fell. The German industrialists kept on improving and renewing their plant. France could hardly take machinery and buildings as reparations ; all spare money therefore went into them.

When the chaos finally subsided and one Reichsmark (i.e. one shilling at par) took the place of one billion old marks, Germany possessed the most up-to-date industrial plant in the world, and no country could compete with it. In consequence every other country became inundated with German goods. The German industry prospered while the industries of her rivals were threatened with extinction. All sorts of protective measures had to be introduced by other nations to keep out imports of the products of the German industry. This only lowered the standard of living of their own people and cut down their purchasing power. No European currency seemed secure and the whole world looked on in terror at the trail of ruin that the wreck of the German mark had caused, fearing that the same thing might also happen to them.

The inflation of the mark practically wiped out the middle classes in Germany, and that would also be the fate of any other country in which a financial debacle on such a scale occurred. The German industrialists became the richest in the world, but they did not keep their money in Germany. The bleeding of Germany by France was not going according to plan ; Germany was not paying. The German State was bankrupt. France became exasperated and tried to enforce the fulfilment of the so-called financial conditions of the Versailles Treaty by invading the Ruhr territory, which is the most industrialized part of the German Empire. The French made use of coloured Colonial troops. England refused to co-operate. Finally, after two and a half years of occupation the French were only too glad to clear out of that wasps' nest. But the mischief had been done. A

new spirit had awakened in Germany, which the invasion of the Ruhr and, above all, the use of coloured troops is principally responsible for: the spirit that produced Hitler.

But England kept clear of all this. She had her own worries and she did not want to get mixed up in other people's troubles. If France wanted to invade the Ruhr, that was her business, albeit England tried to dissuade her from doing so, because every disturbance abroad troubled us. The financial chaos in Germany and its effects in other countries, had great repercussions in England at a time when we were trying to get back to something like pre-War conditions.

Before the War we formed an entity entirely our own in the world. There was no other nation like us. We had made tremendous industrial strides since the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1847; the great work of Richard Cobden. But Cobden was no philanthropist; just a hard-headed business man who understood the needs of a great industrial nation. He was as self-made as any self-made man could be, at a time when only a hard-headed business man could become self-made. He was one of eleven children of an English farmer who got caught in the slump caused by the depression following the Napoleonic wars. Goodness only knows what happened to the other ten children, but Richard managed to get a job as a clerk at a calico merchant's, for whom later he became a commercial traveller. In 1828 he took the plunge and opened up on his own together with two friends in Manchester. Eventually he became a calico manufacturer. You see, not very much romance; just a hard-headed business man. He had little or no education, but plenty of experience. He understood that if we could only get the import duties taken off food, wages would drop and this would give a great impetus to our foreign trade. He was all for foreign trade. He opposed Graham's Factory Bill and he opposed Trade Unions, in spite of the fact that he is apt to be looked upon as one of England's greatest philanthropists, because he said they interfered with trade. He was a

pacifist when it was dangerous to be a pacifist, because war interfered with trade. In fact he lost his seat in Parliament through being a pacifist. But without Richard Cobden England would never have gone over to Free Trade, and it is Free Trade that gave us that tremendous prosperity which we enjoyed up to the outbreak of the Great War.

All over the world went Britain's industrial products. No country could compete with us. The raw materials came in free and the foodstuffs came in free. Every available man, woman or child was drawn into our industry. They flocked from the land into the towns literally in millions. Nothing was done to prevent this migration from the soil. No far-seeing eye was there to glimpse the day when we should repent this draining of the land of its tillers and toilers. There was no need of labour on the land : food was coming in free. Another thing, we wanted the greater lands across the oceans to be developed and populated so that they also in time could produce consumers of our industry. Thousands immigrated into our industrial hives from Germany, Italy, Poland and Austria. There was work for all and food for all. The immense possibilities of development overseas drew thousands and thousands to Canada, Australia and New Zealand, lured thither by the rumours of abundant food, freedom and fortune, to form settlements and build towns, which again contributed to the prosperity of British industry. There were wars in France, wars in Prussia, wars in Austria, Russia, Hungary, Italy, in America, in Asia, in Africa, which prevented other countries from developing their own industries, whilst we kept on pushing ahead with ours as fast as we could go. Our industrial prosperity knew no limits. No nation could compete with us ; we had by far too long a lead. However, with the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian war a new spirit of nationalism sprang up in Europe, and this spirit had its effect on French and German industry.

With the spread of our industrial power, our banks, insurance firms and shipping companies went ahead at almost the same pace. British ships were to be found on

every sea. With the advantage of Free Trade they always went out laden and came home laden, so that they could compete successfully against all-comers. Our money went abroad into new countries and old ones, to develop them, opening up new avenues for our industry. All the time our industrial output was improving in quality and becoming standardized. We could not consider the individual tastes or eccentricities of any one nation or race. They just had to take what we wanted to manufacture, how we wanted to manufacture it and when we wanted to manufacture it. The world was being served on a large scale and it did not pay to individualize. Behind the shipping and behind the banks stood our insurance companies. London insured everything, and the foreigner had faith in our soundness and integrity. Into Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia went our money, and to Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia went our ships carrying to or fetching from every part of the world, and into Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia was carried the faith in British insurance. Really, at the outbreak of the Great War, nobody knew how far the tentacles of London reached. Not even the British themselves.

With the spirit of nationalism invading the Continent of Europe free use was made of the weapon of Protection. The French protected their home markets by means of tariffs. The Germans did the same. The idea of tariffs began to creep all over the Continent. The European nations started not only to develop their own industries but to compete with the export trade of the British. They were able to make good progress because they catered for individual tastes; their catalogues were printed in the languages and priced in the currencies of the countries they were out to serve; their weights and measures were those of the purchasing countries and they were prepared to supply the quantities and qualities to suit the buyers, with a fixed price delivered to the purchasers' doorstep, practically. But it did not pay the great British industrialists to particularize in this way. The British industrialists wanted to produce

merchandise of exceptional quality and to standardize everything, so as to be able to produce to a scale. The result was that foreign industrialists, especially the Germans, were able to make inroads into certain of our markets. But we did not mind that so much ; because as other countries became industrialized and more prosperous it opened up markets for our quality products. We gained a reputation for quality ; it became universally recognized that the British article was always the best. Furthermore, many of the industrial undertakings, in foreign countries, were really British concerns, financed from Britain.

As nations developed their industries, they required capital to carry on with, and British investments went to every corner of the globe. Money could always be raised in London for any reasonable undertaking, but our banks, like our industry, only wanted large-scale and standardized business. They were not prepared to offer all the trading conveniences that foreign bankers offered. They preferred to finance foreign banking-concerns to carry on this individualized business, rather than undertake it themselves. We wanted everything to be organized to pattern ; it paid us much better to finance other concerns to particularize. By direct and indirect ways we financed the sellers to sell and the buyers to buy, and we made interest out of both, the buyers and the sellers. We lent money to the producers to produce and we lent money to the users to use. We carried the goods for both producers and users in our ships, and charged them for the freight. We insured the freights in London. Everywhere and in every way British investments and British capital, British shipping and British insurance were reaping unheard-of profits, hand in hand. It all centred in London. London was the greatest hive of human industry that the world had ever known. Everybody who had something to buy or something to sell came to London ; in London there was a market for everything at a price. Whatever any country produced—no matter what it was or where it was—was sure of being able to find a buyer for it in London. Insurances could be effected on anything

at any risk in the world, in London. Whatever the foreign countries could not consume themselves could be dumped in London and disposed of.

But these goods were not dumped in London solely to compete with British goods. These dumped goods produced profits for British merchants. They went all over the world to the customers of British merchants. They were insured in London, and British insurance companies reaped the benefit of the premiums paid, they were carried in British ships all over the world and British shipping companies reaped the benefit of the freights paid. It was a wonderfully well-woven network, but it was sustained purely and simply by Free Trade. Goods could be deposited in England without difficulties of any description and disposed of. Every nation and race in the world knew that there was a market for whatever they produced. British merchants scoured the world for things to buy and sell; from and to anybody. England was rapidly passing from the stage of individual industry to a world of financial industry. Instead of only depending on our own people to work for us, we were making the whole world work for us. Instead of our merchants only handling our own products, our merchants were handling the produce and products of the whole world. Instead of only keeping our own markets for our own industrialists, we were handling everybody's markets for all nations' industrialists. Free Trade had made us tremendously prosperous, and our Free Trade had made practically every other nation more prosperous as well, and our prosperity and advancement depended upon the prosperity and advancement of the rest of the world. We depended on them as much as they depended on us. We formed a hub around which every other country could gyrate. London became a centre where everything could be bought and sold. So nations built up their agriculture, built up their industry and built up their commerce, in the sure knowledge that there was a market for everything; they prospered; their conditions improved, and with prosperity came stability and the demand for quality goods.

Then came the War. The nations involved had no time to attend to their peace-time pursuits, and the neutral nations were obliged to take measures to develop their own industries so as to supply their needs. The belligerent nations as well were obliged to instal huge industrial plants, because they could no longer depend on their former sources of supply. The whole world became either voluntarily or involuntarily industrialized, and when the War ended neither the belligerents nor the non-belligerents were inclined to scrap the millions of pounds' worth of industrial plant they had been forced to instal in an epoch of urgency. So that instead of the pre-War world composed of countries each producing what they were best able to, we were faced with a world of nations all avid of carrying on their own industries which they had founded with such great pains and expense. Every nation wanted to manufacture. Every nation wanted to sell its products. But the newly industrialized peoples had not a hope of competing, even in their own countries, with the more experienced manufacturing nations, especially with the ultra-modern industry of Germany. Hence an orgy of tariffs; Rationalization, a lowered standard of living for hundreds of millions; contracted purchasing power; world trade at a standstill; countless unemployed. Emigration ceased entirely, and those countries which so welcomed immigrants before the War now closed their frontiers even to their own flesh and blood—they had quite enough workless to be going on with. Industrial nations which relied on others for much agricultural produce could no longer pay for it by exporting manufactures, and artificial finance was resorted to in order to produce food.

Naturally, the country most hit by this world trade chaos was Britain, who depended upon the wheels of commerce running smoothly. As long as trade was good—anybody's trade and everybody's trade—she was doing well, but the time had come when it was impossible to do any trade at all. Ships were lying up in the rivers. The banks could make no use of their idle funds. There was no call for insurance. When things were at their

worst Britain decided on a change of fiscal policy and abandoned Free Trade in favour of Protection. That was brought about by the crisis of 1931, when unemployment reached the staggering figure of nearly two and three-quarter millions.

But it is impossible to understand the causes of the crisis of 1931 without a glance at the post-War history of British politics. And the first thing that will strike a responsible person is the fact that nearly all our major disasters since the War have been brought about by the terms of the American Debt Settlement of 1923. If the terms had been sensible there would have been no need to have returned to the Gold Standard, and if there had been no return to the Gold Standard there would probably have been no General Strike in 1926. The American Debt Settlement was one of the biggest blunders that any statesman has ever made. It was more than a blunder, it was a colossal catastrophe. The whole world has been paying for it ever since. We made the settlement expecting our former Allies to make good to us the money we were supposed to pay America and that our ex-Allies would get the money from the ex-enemy countries to pay us with. So the Central Powers had to borrow money from its former enemies to pay our ex-Allies with, so that our ex-Allies could pay us, so that we could pay America. The absurdity of such a scheme is stamped on its face. Things didn't go too smoothly at the start. We had agreed to pay America in dollars, and it soon became evident that we could not go on making payments with a depreciated pound sterling, so the Government decided on the return to the Gold Standard, so as to force the pound up to the same value as the dollar. The result was ruinous for our export trade, because it became impossible for us to compete with those nations who were enjoying the benefits of a depreciated currency. Our heavy industries went to pieces; our cotton and woollen manufacturers were obliged to close down many of their works. The Midlands and the North had to bear the weight of ever-increasing unemployment. Rates went up as unemployment

increased, and this made things still worse. Any new factories that were opening up preferred to start in the South of England, where rates were lower, on account of less unemployment. So that it became a vicious circle : the rates had to go up as a result of increased unemployment, and consequently no new industry could afford to start in a district of high rates to relieve the unemployment. The new factories went to districts where unemployment was not so bad, and the rates lower.

It was now a question of forcing down wages so as to be able to compete with the foreigner because, it must be understood, that in a country with a depreciated currency the wages are paid in that currency and are consequently much lower than those paid in a country with a high currency. But there was no chance of reducing wages in England ; the Trade Unions were opposed to such a move and the Trade Unions were strong, so that it would have to come to a trial of strength with the Trade Unions before it was possible to start forcing down wages. The occasion for this was the stopping of the coal subsidy, which meant that in order to keep the mines working at a profit, off their own bat, wages would have to be reduced all round. The miners refused. The Unions backed the miners and the General Strike was declared. But the end of the General Strike was not the end of the Coal Strike. The Coal Strike continued for long months after the General Strike was called off, with the net result that many of the mines could not be reopened and hundreds of thousands of men have remained permanently unemployed, and are gradually becoming unemployable. Hundreds upon hundreds of shops have been closed down and trade itself is practically at a standstill in the coal districts. Markets have been lost overseas, on account of our not being able to fulfil our contracts, and it will take years of endeavour to regain those markets, if they are ever regained. The stopping of the coal subsidy, in the way it was engineered, was an error which caused irreparable disaster. If the coal subsidy had been reduced, year by year, over a space of ten years, there might have been some common sense in it.

It would have given everybody time to accommodate themselves to the altered circumstances, time both to the men in the mines and the mine owners themselves to face facts steadily and wisely. As it was, the subsidy was to be knocked off with one bang ; this only meant that the standard of living of the mine workers which, goodness only knows was low enough before, was to be reduced still further and, consequently, their purchasing power curtailed.

The subsidy itself was not nearly so costly a matter for the nation as the stoppage was. To a certain extent it might even have been productive. It is very evident that as long as the subsidy remained in force, in some shape or other, we were able to keep the mines working and export our coal. We could even work mines that were otherwise unprofitable. As long as the mines were working, the hundreds of villages and small towns that depended absolutely on the coal mines for their existence were, more or less, prosperous. The shopkeepers and other employers of labour in those small towns and villages paid their taxes, used telephones, paid their contributions to the unemployment and other insurance, kept numberless employees at work and contributed in a hundred ways to the general financial well-being of the State. The sudden withdrawal of the coal subsidy not only caused the Coal Strike, which was bad enough in its way, but proved to be the direct cause of the closing down of so great a number of mines that countless villages, especially in the hills of South Wales, turned from an era of relative prosperity and became totally derelict, and unemployment rose by leaps and bounds.

It is very difficult, even looking at the whole affair, nearly ten years after, in as dispassionate a manner as possible, to believe that the subsidy was stopped purely from economic reasons. Ever since the War the Socialist Party had been increasing in strength. In 1924, for a short time, they had even assumed office. Unless something were done they must gradually become the strongest party in the land, and then they would be free to carry their socialist principles into effect. This was a direct

challenge to capitalism. By clever strategy the Conservatives had won the elections of late 1924 with a tremendous majority. There were two members of the new Cabinet, Churchill and Birkenhead, who were anxious to come to grips with the Socialists at any price. They were out for the complete destruction of the Socialist Party, before it became too late.¹ They made no secret of their hatred of Socialism. Churchill had actually put up as an anti-Socialist candidate, without any other designation, in a bye-election in the Westminster Abbey Division that very year, against an official nominee of the Conservative Party. Such an opportunity might never occur again. They had obtained that tremendous majority by a trick: the Zinovieff letter. You can gull the public once, but you cannot count upon being able to do it a second time. They must take full advantage of this opportunity.

Now, it is common knowledge that the backbone of the Socialist Party in Great Britain are the Trade Unions. Not only are the Trade Unions the backbone from a mass point of view, but also from a financial point of view. Without the Trade Unions the Socialist Party could not exist. They provide the votes and they provide the money. So if it were possible to crush the Unions it would be the end of the Socialist Party and of the "menace" of Socialism as far as Britain is concerned.² The "legitimate" way of extinguishing the Unions

¹ "This steady growth of Socialism was an alarming fact; in his eyes Socialism had become the real menace that must be met and fought." (Lord Birkenhead, in a speech on November 26th, 1922.)

"He foresaw and dreaded the prospect of a Labour Prime Minister demanding a dissolution and appealing to the country on a frankly predatory programme of heavy taxation and the nationalization of industry." (Lord Birkenhead, *Sunday Times*, 16th December, 1923.)

² "Were the Unions to continue to enjoy the right of compelling their members to subscribe to the Labour Party's political fund?" (Lord Birkenhead, House of Lords, 13th June, 1923.)

"We shall have to set our teeth just as we should have done if six months more war had been necessary, and carry the matter once and for all to the conclusion that will involve complete reconsideration of the exceptional legal status conceded to Trade Unions." (Lord Birkenhead, to Lord Reading, 8th October, 1925.)

would be by exhausting their financial reserves and that could be done if the Unions could only be lured into carrying out their threat of a General Strike. The reserves of the Unions could not last a month, no matter how strong they were. The Unions had about five million members and about thirteen million pounds in funds. When the question of the subsidy was discussed Churchill and Birkenhead were adamant. They had had a whole year to make their preparations.¹ They knew exactly what measures they were going to take in case of a General Strike; the Navy was to be used to keep the power-stations working in all great centres throughout the country—Churchill had been First Lord of the Admiralty from 1911 to 1915—and Hyde Park was to be reserved for a milk-pool to supply the whole of the Metropolitan area.²

However, the General Council of the Trade Unions were more cautious than Churchill and Birkenhead gave them credit for. The General Strike was called off and the Unions still had about eight million pounds of their funds left. They had not been crushed, and in the elections of 1929, only three years after the General Strike, the Socialist Party came back stronger than ever—the largest party in Parliament—and assumed office for the second time. But they still had to bear with the intolerable burden of the American Settlement and the Gold Standard. Things went from bad to worse. We could not export because the Gold Standard made our goods too dear and we had to drain our resources to keep up the American Debt payments, which were not only ruining us, but half the world, including America, as well. Commerce had virtually broken down. Everybody wanted to sell their goods and nobody had any money to buy. Sell at any price. Unemployment figures

¹ "The T.U.C. must rule or be crushed. The Ministry have long foreseen the danger and have made preparations to meet it." (*Frederick Edwin Earl of Birkenhead*. Birkenhead. Thornton Butterworth. Page 270.) (The italics are mine. M. F.)

² "The Government mobilized troops to guard the docks, gasworks and electric plants, and organized motor transport to bring food and milk to the towns." (*Frederick Edwin Earl of Birkenhead*. Birkenhead. Thornton Butterworth. Page 274.)

in Britain went up to nearly two and three-quarter millions, in Germany to nearly eight millions, in America to twelve. The very wheels of civilization were breaking down. Theatres, cinemas, restaurants, hotels, were all deserted. Some of the mightiest names in British commerce went into liquidation or bankruptcy. Hoover finally agreed to suspend the payments of the American Debt. Even money-bloated America had begun to quake. But it was too late. The flight from the pound had started. Thirty million pounds were used up in a fortnight in trying to peg the pound, artificially, to the Gold Standard. France and America hesitated about lending more money to us; they thought we were cracking up. The wildest rumours circulated throughout London and the whole country. England was bankrupt. A National Government was formed.

The very first thing the National Government did was to suspend the Gold Standard; the following year it ceased paying America. It took a national crisis, a world crisis, to undo the harm done. In 1931 England declared for Protection. Since then, the whole world has become disjointed. Up to that time England was the cement that kept all the countries trading with each other. We were the centre of attraction towards which the whole world radiated. Now all those minor countries are like bees without a hive. Their products are no good to themselves and they do not know what to do with them or how to handle them. The whole interchange is practically broken up into fragments, without any cohesive factor.

All sorts of new theories have been floating about for the last four years. Prices must be forced up, wages must be forced down. Thousands upon thousands of bags of coffee have been dumped in the sea to force up the price of coffee. Millions of bushels of wheat have been burnt to force up the price of wheat. Wages have been reduced all over the world so as to be able to manufacture more cheaply than nobody has any money to purchase, even if they are cheaper. In Britain, we even go so far as to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the lowest

possible amount of food on which an unemployed person can subsist. How we can expect our agriculture to prosper if we cut down the very eating powers of the working-classes who, after all, in their millions, are the mainstay of farming prosperity, goes beyond me! America goes further and pays her farmer a bounty not to farm. Is it any wonder that trade cannot recover? The purchasing power of the workers is being cut down, thus causing millions more of unemployed. Concentration camps, training camps, labour camps and all sorts of camps are being set up everywhere to find at least some sort of work for all these youthful, idle hands: to prevent their going to seed, or to something worse.

Surely there must be a remedy for all this! Surely it is not beyond the wit of man to bring us back to the paths of common sense and brotherhood! Surely, if the closely knit world of 1914 has been blown into sundered sections, with all our new inventions and machinery we should still be able to find something to replace the old system, even to produce a better world to live in than our fathers knew.

Since the advent of the National Government, England seems to have settled down to a life of peace and, comparative, plenty. But we must be very careful before accepting facts too much on their surface value. The unemployment question is not solved, nor does it even show signs of being solved. It is quite true, officially, we have brought down the unemployment-roll to about two millions, but that is not enough. It is merely scratching the surface of the problem and not digging into it. The National Government was sent to Westminster to solve this problem and practically only for that reason. The insolvency of Britain was only a myth at the best of times and was used, more or less, to scare the electorate into submission. As soon as we came off the Gold Standard and definitely stopped paying America, the whole financial situation righted itself. The fact is, it appeared to our financial advisers impossible to leave the Gold Standard until we had decided about what we were

going to do about future payments to America in fulfilment of our obligations in the Debt Settlement. But from the very moment we left the Gold Standard we began to breathe freely again. Our exports went up by leaps and bounds and that began to make things easier. Then came the great conversion of the War Loan, and the greatest bugbear of all was taken off the stock market, at a tremendous saving to the Treasury, and the public once more began to let their money flow into industrial concerns. Shares began to rise and dividends to be paid again, and everybody started to feel happy once more.

Few people fully realize the significance of leaving the Gold Standard. The international value of the pound outside the countries whose currencies are linked to sterling, and the U.S.A. with whom we keep very near parity, has fallen to under twelve shillings. That is to say, in competing for foreign markets we are paying our workers at the rate of about twelve shillings for what we were formerly paying them twenty shillings. Before we came off the Gold Standard, if a man was receiving three pounds a week in wages, that three pounds was worth sixty shillings; whereas to-day, internationally, it is only worth about thirty-six shillings. That places us in a very favourable position, a very enviable position, in competition with a number of our industrial adversaries. Furthermore, our Budget, that amounts to something in the neighbourhood of eight hundred million pounds, has not increased to any great extent, in spite of the fact that the international value of the pound has fallen so tremendously. This means that not only have we not been obliged to increase taxation, on account of inflation, but we have actually reduced taxation in a fairly large measure. Yes, we really have the right to smile!

But the problem for which the National Government was formed was Unemployment, and that shows, at present, no signs of being solved, and no logical attempt is being made at finding a proper solution. Because, after all, the small progress made in this direction is not nearly enough to justify the sacrifices made by the working-classes themselves, in the belief that their

sufferings would be the means of finding the solution. The wealthier classes have hardly suffered in any shape or form. It is perfectly true that civil servants, judges and government officials had to accept cuts in their salaries; they were amply compensated, however, by the reduction in income-tax and increased dividends and bonuses in every shape and form. But the working-classes have received a threefold bang in the neck. First of all wages were slashed right and left. It was not a uniform reduction such as the Government and municipalities imposed, of 5 or 10 per cent, but a real mania of wages-cutting, with the official example set by the Government as excuse. Moreover, the devaluation of the pound sterling caused an increase in the prices of food much greater than the average person realizes. On top of this came the protective tariffs and quotas, which again forced up prices of commodities, especially those that the working-classes require. But they have patiently suffered, only too thankful to have a job to go to, seeing that millions have no jobs at all.

Whether tariffs have been a success or not it is as yet far too early to ascertain. At this stage we cannot compute what we have lost in banking, shipping and insurance through breaking up that tremendous web that depended on Free Trade in Britain. That intricate network can never be woven again. All sorts of circumstances have since intervened to add to the chaos: dictatorships, money restrictions, prohibition of the export of capital and many other devices set in motion to overcome the world-felt effects of Britain ceasing to be the greatest international mart in history. The results of these developments also cannot be foreseen.

Yes, the world of 1914 is finally shattered, and there is no way of returning to it. The abandoning of Free Trade finally put the lid on it. It is now no longer a matter of returning to Free Trade because that tremendous unit that our Free Trade system welded together exists no longer. To replace it we must create a new system. We have to find a means not only of coping with our unemployed-roll (which may start rising

again at any moment, as conditions are not such as guarantee even a gradual decrease in numbers), but something that is going to put the whole of our society and all our institutions on an entirely different footing: on a footing of security. Something that gives us the assurance that when we bring children into the world there is a world here worth bringing them into, and not, as at present, a world offering just a possibility that they *may* be lucky enough to grow up and go out and find a job. For over thirty years we have been told, and many of us came to believe it, that Protection was the panacea which was going to cure all our evils, but when it has come to the point, and we have finally got protection, after four years trial we have not a great deal to show for it—nothing commensurate with the price we have paid for it.

Strictly speaking there are only two grounds for the adoption of protective tariffs or import duties: to obtain revenue, or to foster a new industry which cannot get a fair start in face of the competition of more highly industrialized countries. England did not go over to import duties for either of these reasons. We have plenty of direct means of obtaining revenue without resorting to import duties. And we did not do so to foster our younger industries against unequal competition, because those industries were doing well even at the time of the panic. It was our older industries, the mainstay of our exports, that were feeling the pinch, and import duties are not going to solve the problem for them.

"But," I hear someone say, "our export figures have gone up tremendously, in fact we are once more the greatest exporting nation in the world." True, but it is not due to import duties, but to our coming off the Gold Standard and adopting a managed currency to suit the needs of our overseas trade. We may be able to hold on to this prosperity for a long time to come, perhaps for many years to come, but sooner or later all the other highly industrialized nations may find themselves obliged to go over to a managed currency also and then the trouble will begin all over again for us. At

present we are leading, but how long are we going to be left alone on the trail we have blazed? Doubtless many people do attribute our present prosperity to import duties, but it is an entirely fallacious conception of the true facts. The import duties can only help us to compete with the goods that come into our country from abroad, but they in no way help us to compete in the open market for export trade except as a bargaining-pawn. A managed currency, however does help exports. Thanks to which our exports have expanded, and that expansion has been the main factor in absorbing that portion of the unemployed which has been absorbed.

If we want to help our home trade then import duties are not going to help us much in the long run. We are beginning to find that out already. If we want to insist on manufacturing all that we can manufacture at home, so as to absorb our unemployed, until all our unemployed are absorbed, then we shall have to introduce something much more drastic than import duties. We shall have to go right over to the total prohibition of any imports, that we are able to manufacture ourselves, while we have any unemployed that we can employ. But we shall also have to have Government supervision to protect us against undue exploitation by the manufacturers. It will mean that the Government will have to stipulate a fixed rate of profit, otherwise prices will soar so high, behind this prohibition wall, that the unemployed will be worse off than ever; and the working and lower-middle classes will be driven to acts of desperation. But the great reason for recommending it is because properly adjusted it could be far more beneficial to the country than ever import duties are likely to be.

In the first place you will be sure of getting your unemployed back to work, because you are actually providing the means of work for the community. Secondly, you will not be raising, unnecessarily, the cost of living, which import duties undoubtedly do, because there is no tariff to pay. The import duty has to be high, in order to keep the competing foreigner out, and the home-manufacturer piles on the price of the article as high as possible behind

the protection wall of the import duty. The extra charge has to be paid by the ultimate purchaser either in the form of the import duty or in the form of the increased price. But that is not the end of the trouble : as the price increases, so the profit increases in proportion, all along the line from the wholesaler to the retailer and from the retailer to the public. That is to say, if the article costs a pound and there is an import duty of ten shillings to be paid, the wholesaler does not reckon his profit on the pound, that is the cost of the article, but on the pound plus the ten shillings import duty. So if each of these merchants makes a practice of adding 25 per cent profit, the article costs thirty-seven and six to the retailer, thirty shillings plus 25 per cent, and forty-six shillings and tenpence halfpenny to the public. In other words a profit of five shillings and sevenpence halfpenny has been made on the ten-shilling duty. So that if there had been no import duty this same article, allowing still 25 per cent profit to the wholesaler and a compound 25 per cent profit to the retailer, would have fetched thirty-one shillings and threepence, whereas with the imposition of the duty it fetches forty-six shillings and tenpence halfpenny. The result of this is to lower the standard of living of the working-classes, which means that you are cutting down their purchasing power, and this is the very thing to be avoided, because it is the millions of the working-classes, the spending-class, who are going to get our home-industries going in a sufficient degree to absorb our unemployed, and not the wealthier classes, who are the saving class.

A working-man receives his pay-envelope at the end of the week, and by the end of the following week the contents of that pay-envelope have been turned over countless times : the money keeps in circulation. With the wealthier classes, however, a proportion of their money is idle capital, sometimes in the banks, and, probably, a larger proportion invested at a fixed rate of interest. There is a vast difference, in its effect on trade, between a million pounds possessed by a hundred thousand of the working-class and a million pounds divided among ten

thousand of the wealthier class. It is the mass earning and mass spending that will have to right things.

Furthermore, once you employ the weapon of the import duty indiscriminately, and it has to be used indiscriminately to be of any use, then you lay yourself open to retaliation and a tariff war and once again your trade will be hampered. Your neighbour will close his markets to your goods because you are closing your market to his goods, so that here again the import duty is defeating its own end. Again, in order to get round the tariff-barrier, a country will pay its exporters bounties equal to the duty, so as to get their goods into the tariff country, or give them freight benefits, or use managed currency. These bounties or benefits have to be paid by the nationals of the country in question in the shape of taxes or other imposts, thus reducing their purchasing power, and so orders which might otherwise have gone to the tariff country are not forthcoming. There is no sense whatsoever in cutting down purchasing power in any shape or form.

So that the position we find ourselves in to-day is, that although we seem to be on the road to recovery, we are faced with the problem of having about two millions of unemployed on our hands, and not much likelihood of ever being able to decrease that number in any very great measure. Indeed, responsible ministers are beginning to talk as if we shall have to consider this mass of unemployment as normal, just as, in 1923, a million unemployed was considered normal, and before the War, about half a million. But before the War the question of unemployment was a very different one. Then, there would have been no difficulty whatsoever in absorbing the unemployed if there had been any real desire to have done so, but there was a very large following of the great industrialists who looked upon it as essential that we should have a floating mass of unemployed workers on whom we could place our hands at a given moment in a boom period. We had to be able to cope with any boom-rush on industry that presented itself. Furthermore, this mass of unemployed had a steadying

effect on wages when a boom did occur and was influential in counteracting strikes. In a boom-period the workers can threaten to strike in order to raise their wages, but once they are raised they remain raised even after the boom-period has passed over. It is very difficult to lower wages once they have gone up, because the lowering of wages would only hasten a slump-period, once the boom-period was finished. It could not be done normally. It would mean having to face strikes, lock-outs and all the other evils that creep in during the operation of a forced lowering of wages.

This is clearly proved by the continual fluctuation in the numbers of the unemployed before the War. Their numbers fluctuated unceasingly between 200,000 and 500,000, according to boom or slump-periods. If there had been any great desire to cope with the question of unemployment, there would have been very little difficulty. Britain was the only country that had any unemployed. France used to give employment to, literally, millions of Greeks and Italians. Germany used to import Poles at regular seasons to cope with the extra work and America threw open her doors wide to immigration. Britain was the only country that consistently possessed a nucleus of unemployed. We only had to tighten up the factory laws or improve the conditions of emigration—the colonies not only absorbed all our serviceable emigrants but guaranteed them work and pay—and this nucleus of unemployment could have been dissolved very quickly; but there was really no very serious attempt to grapple with the question, and that speaks for itself.

But that is not the case to-day. To-day, every country almost, except Russia, has, literally speaking, millions of unemployed, and all without any actual hope of becoming employed again. Moreover, neither the Colonies nor America want our surplus population now, as they have tremendous unemployment troubles of their own; whereas, for the four years before the War, emigration from Great Britain totalled about a quarter of a million annually, or over one million in the four years. These

facts alone go to show that the question of unemployment is not a national one but a universal one. Unemployment in one part of the world breeds unemployment in some other part of the world and that very unemployment in some other part of the world breeds unemployment somewhere else. At present we are all suffering from it, and probably the remedy for one country will be the cure for all, and there will be no means of putting the world on its feet again, either politically or economically, until this vital question is solved, properly solved, and definitely solved, because practically all the political troubles that a large part of the world is suffering from have been brought about mainly by the question of unemployment ; so that if we get this economical factor solved the political upheavals will straighten themselves out automatically.

But the matter will have to be tackled in a courageous spirit and not just tinkered about with. Some country will have to take the lead in taking bold decisions, and it is only right that England should be that country. England, for the last two centuries, has been the country to give an example of statesmanship to the rest of the world, and she is called upon to do it again. It is no good balking the issue on the grounds of our present superficial prosperity. Our main problem is unemployment and that is what we have to solve. Not only must the problem of our own unemployment be solved, but we have to give such a lead that other nations will follow suit and thus turn the whole world, once more, into a prosperous trading unit, like we used to be ; the prosperity of each nation contributing to the prosperity of all the others. Once we are on the road to prosperity again, the nations will settle down to peaceful pursuits and progress, producing trade for all and developing trade for all, each one according to its merits, instead of trying to lock themselves up in their own dreams of self-sufficiency and thus sowing want and panic throughout the world.

Nevertheless, all things considered, we have not done too badly. In fact, seeing how chaotic everything is, we have even managed extraordinarily well. The War

deprived us in round figures of about a million hands, in one way and another. Furthermore, since 1913 to 1933—a space of twenty years—our population has actually increased by about four millions; if you add the other million that the War deprived us of, it would make five millions altogether: five millions in twenty years. Add to this the fact that emigration is practically at a standstill—and it worked out at the rate of about a quarter of a million annually for the last four years before the War, which makes one million every four years: in twenty years five millions, so that the natural flow of emigration, if it had not been stopped, would have carried off the total surplus of population. This surplus population, would have been useful units in our colonies and have added to their purchasing power, which would have sent up the prices of wages and retail goods which in itself would have increased purchasing power.

On top of this we have to consider that one of the greatest markets in the world has fallen to pieces: Russia. It is quite true that we ourselves did not do a great deal of trade with Russia, but Germany and Austria did, and the prosperity of Germany and Austria was what built up a large part of our trade. We should not have had this trade if the Russians had not been trading with Germany and Austria. Moreover, Russia in order to offer this trade to Germany and Austria, borrowed money in large quantities from various parts of the world, a large proportion of which was furnished by London. A tremendous proportion of the business done between Austria, Germany and Russia, was insured in London, or re-insured in London. This enormous amount of the world's market has been cut off, and, in spite of all this, we have only about two millions of unemployed, which is not at all bad under the circumstances.

But it is precisely the circumstances that are wrong, and we have to face up to the fact that the circumstances are wrong and put them right. We have to decide definitely if we are going to slow down the machine and put back the hands of progress, or speed up the machine still more and put forward the hands of progress. That

is the fact we have to face up to. Not the fact that we have been lucky enough to get off with only two millions of unemployed, but the fact that in twenty years' time we may be faced with ten millions of unemployed as the reckoning only too surely shows, because unemployment breeds unemployment, the same as employment produces employment. We cannot always count upon luck to help us out. We have to help ourselves. It is no good trying to go backwards to normal, we have got to go forwards to normal. Let us stop speaking of a normal half a million unemployed or a normal million of unemployed, or a normal two millions of unemployed, because these normal millions of unemployed have no limit. There should be no normal unemployment at all because, if there is, it shows that there is something wrong with the clockwork.

The hold which unemployment has secured is due in no small measure to our rating system. This matter has already been touched on earlier in this book.¹ At present the wealthiest districts are the most lightly assessed, while the poorest neighbourhoods are those that have to pay the heaviest rates. This is quite understandable, and it is impossible to rectify it unless we alter the whole of our rating system and put it on to a national basis. Our unemployment is no longer a local matter ; it is a national matter : a national matter of the greatest and gravest importance, and it will have to be handled in an entirely national way. It does seem absurd that a rich borough should only pay eight shillings and sixpence in the pound rates, while a poor one, like Merthyr Tydvil, whose state compared with Westminster is shown in the table given overleaf, has to pay twenty-seven shillings and sixpence in the pound. It should be the other way round if anything.

The result of this great disparity is that if a new works or factory of any description is to be opened up, a site is generally chosen, all other factors being equal, in a locality where the rates are low. That brings us right to the kernel of the nut. The rates are bound to be highest where unemployment is greatest, on account of the burden of

¹ See page 328.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND RATES 1934/5

	<i>Merthyr Tydvil.</i>	<i>Westminster.</i>
Population	69,680	126,300
Rates in £	27s. 6d.	8s. 6d.
Product of 1d. rate . .	£851	£42,750
Rates per head of population	£4 os. 7d.	£34 10s. 6d.
Rateable value per head of population	£3 7s. 2d.	£88 18s. 4d.
Number of insured per- sons 16-64 (July, 1934) .	21,200	42,490
Percentage unemployed .	53.5	6.5

divers payments to the unemployed that have to be met from the local rates. Under certain circumstances it even pays established factories to shift their works from a locality of high rates to a locality of low rates. This means that more people are thrown out of employment ; more financial burdens have to be accepted by the deserted locality, and up go the rates again, making it impossible for new works to open up in the district in question and offering a temptation to other established works to shift elsewhere. It is just a vicious circle. Under our present system, the rates cannot be lowered in stricken districts and so entice works and factories to the locality thus reducing the number of workless.

When this is realized it becomes as clear as day that unemployment cannot be efficiently attacked until our rating system is entirely altered and put on a national basis. There seems to be no apparent reason why the rates throughout the country should not be uniform, as far as urban areas are concerned. It is not the same as a hundred or even fifty years ago, when a locality was only a locality. To-day there is no such thing as an isolated borough. The whole country forms practically one unit. Food produced in one part of the country is delivered for use, on the same day, in some other part

of the country, often quite distant. In a certain Kentish village, for example, the fishmonger draws all his supplies from Grimsby and his fish is good and fresh. Work performed in the north is done for factories working in the south. Firms established in London do business with people living throughout the provinces, and their lorries and vans in delivering their wares, use roads spread all over the country. On top of this, the Road Fund is levied nationally and not locally. If anything, logically, should be a local rate, surely it is the Road Fund, seeing that a local car is bound to use the local roads and streets much more than roads and streets in other areas, nevertheless the Road Fund is levied nationally and not locally.

Once the rating system is put on an equalized national basis, it will mean that the now highly rated districts will be as acceptable for new factories and works as any other. They will even be more acceptable from one point of view, in having available an almost unlimited quantity of willing labour—in itself a great attraction. The result of this will be that employment will be spread more evenly over the whole country, and unemployment also; instead of having, as at present, parts of the country in a thriving condition while other parts are slowly perishing of inanition.

But this will be only the first stage in the campaign. We shall have scattered the enemy's forces by demolishing one of his great strongholds, but in spite of that unemployment will still remain a formidable foe.

The only real way of definitely conquering unemployment is by *a reduction in the hours of work*. There must be no question of a reduction in pay, because the moment we interfere with the workers' pay, we are going to defeat our own ends, as we shall reduce the purchasing power of the masses of the people, and it is the masses that make the wheels of industry turn. There is no difficulty whatsoever in finding work for people, but the work must be work of real value, really worth the remuneration it receives. If we set all the unemployed at work digging holes in the fields and filling them up again, that would be giving them work but not the sort of work that is going to

solve the problem. The problem can only be solved by giving work which is purposeful and useful, which will pay for itself and for which employees are not only paid mere wages, but wages that will increase their purchasing power. If all the working inhabitants of China and India could receive pay at the rate of only one pound weekly, that alone would be enough practically to put the whole world right, but their pay at present is so miserably low that it adds very little to the purchasing power of the world. Generally, after they have paid their rent for their hovels of houses and for such food as they eat, there is nothing left to spend. To keep industry going people must have a certain surplus of money to spend and leisure time to spend it in.

Up to 1914 things tended to right themselves in this respect. Progress was not so rapid as it is to-day, and by one means or other the hours of work were gradually reduced, more or less, in proportion to the progress of the industrial machine. Universal education did much in securing this reduction, because it led to the appearance of the cheap Press. This, in its turn, helped forward the sentimental politics of the Liberal Party of the time. All progress runs on parallel lines : as industry became more efficient, it was found that the illiterate workman could not keep pace with the advance. A higher standard of education was called for ; not for philanthropic reasons but for purely economic ones. The industrial machine could be better manned by an educated worker, who could write and read, than by an illiterate worker. How would a factory fare to-day, if the masses could not read and write ? It could not last. It would have to close down.

Universal education brought forth the cheap Press. Everybody could read and newspapers and periodicals could now be produced in millions instead of thousands, and produced cheaply and economically. Through the medium of the cheap Press the Liberal politicians of the time showed the millions of the working classes how they could use their votes to improve their conditions ; and their conditions did improve, keeping pace, more or less, with the progress of industry—regarded as a machine.

Each one was a logical consequence of some previous one. The cheap Press could never have appeared without universal education, and it is very doubtful if the Liberal Party could ever have risen to power as the champions of the working-classes, without the cheap Press. All progress runs on parallel lines. We came down from indefinite hours of work to about twelve hours a day ; from twelve hours to ten hours ; from ten hours to the eight-hour day, and we must now be prepared to go from the eight-hour day to the seven-hour day and from the seven-hour to the six-hour day, and so forth according to the progress of the industrial machine.

The object of work is not the subjection of mankind ; the object of work is profitable production. To make production profitable you must increase the hours of leisure of the working-classes according to the advance in efficiency made by Industry. Otherwise, you will either over-produce, and have no outlet for your goods, or you will have to slow down Industry, and throw men out of employment, thus cutting down their purchasing power, which means over-production in other branches, because the nations' purchasing power has been lessened. Hence still lower output, and more men thrown out of employment. Thus we get back into the old vicious circle. Either we must stop all progress and be content with the conditions as they were in 1914, or we must meet progress in a progressive manner, never forgetting that all progress runs on parallel lines. It is no good trying to avoid this fact, otherwise you are only going to produce chaos.

Let me repeat what I said a few pages back : It is not a bit of use saying " Very good ! let us reduce the working hours, but reduce wages correspondingly." This will not help matters. Firstly, by cutting down wages you are only reducing purchasing power, so that we should be back to where we were. Secondly, by decreasing the hours of work you are increasing the hours of leisure, the very thing that is most desirable from the economic view-point. But you are not going to help things by increasing leisure and decreasing wages. The object of giving more leisure is to increase spending. People do

not spend when they are working, but they do spend, if they have anything to spend, during their leisure time. The more leisure a man has the more he reads, the more he studies. He has more time to devote to his own job, to learn his own job better, to think out new ideas, to work out new problems. He has more time to look after his children, to look after his garden, his house and his welfare. Furthermore, as the machine progresses, work becomes more intensive, taking more out of a worker in a given time. He cannot keep going at the hot pace which the machine demands unless the hours of work are proportionately shortened. If not you are only slowing down the profit-producing action of the mechanical machine in your attempt to overwork the profit-producing action of the human machine.

Again, it is not much use to give the masses more money to spend, if you are not going to give them extra time to spend it in. It is to be understood that the money is to be given to spend and not to save, therefore every inducement must be given to make this money keep in circulation. If a man always gets home from work dead tired, he has no inclination to go upstairs and change, and go off to the theatre, cinema or dancing-hall, or do any of a hundred other things which keep money in circulation. That is the drawback with the money owned by the wealthier class : a large proportion of their money does not circulate.

Naturally, one of the great objections that will be raised to our reducing the hours of work and not the pay will be that it amounts practically to paying one-seventh more in wages, and this will put us at a disadvantage in competing with our industrial adversaries for export trade. But that is not true because, really, all other things being equal, wages do not influence over-much the market price of a commodity. The United States have paid higher wages for years than European countries and yet there are very few countries which can compete with the United States. In fact, there are some manufactured commodities in which the U.S.A. hold a veritable monopoly. For years and years no

European country could compete with America in the export of typewriters and cheaper motor cars, yet the U.S. rate of wages is considerably higher than ours or those of any other European country. If export trade were to be gained by low wages, then surely the low wage countries, such as Roumania or Portugal, should be great industrial exporters, whereas, in truth, they export little or no manufactured goods. This scarecrow of high wages is really holding back our home industries, because it cuts down purchasing power. There are in truth only two important factors in the export of manufactured goods: quality and quantity. If a man wants to buy a Rolls-Royce car, he will buy a Rolls-Royce car. Ten, fifteen or twenty pounds or a hundred pounds will not alter his decision. It is the quality he is after, and he wants that quality. You cannot have high quality on low wages. On the other hand, if he wants a cheap car then ten pounds does make a great difference. But here again it is not the wages that are of primary importance, but the organization. The best organized works is the one that will be selling its cars and not the works that pays the lowest wages or gives the worst conditions. That we have seen now for years in the Ford car works. Ford has always paid the highest wages and given his men the best conditions of work. In those low-wage countries that are able to put up a show at all, it is only behind a screen of protective tariffs.

But even if we accept the argument that wages do make all the difference, that argument will not hold water for these last four years, since we have left the Gold Standard. In 1929 the international value of our pound sterling was twenty whole shillings, but to-day, since we have come off the Gold Standard our pound sterling is only worth under twelve shillings in the international market, which means that from a wages point of view our workers are only receiving slightly over the wages they received four years ago, whereas the money addition to wages which would be the logical corollary of reducing the eight-hour working day to seven hours, would only be one-seventh. That is to say, the international value of

a worker's wages to-day who is receiving three pounds a week is under 36s. One-seventh of that is about 5s. ; added together that makes 41s. You are still 19s. in hand on the gold value of his wages, which is equal to about one-third. Surely that is enough, anyhow, to make a start with.

Besides that this country has always prospered in proportion to the increase in its wage rate and the decrease in the hours of work. In the beginning of last century when indefinite hours of work was the order of the day and a few shillings was all the toiler received for his week's labour, there were no industrial magnates in this country. How could there be, when millions of people had barely time for the necessary recreation to keep alive and barely enough money to buy food and shelter. The leisured classes, who had too much money to spend and too much time to spend it in were not enough in numbers to produce great industrial magnates. The industrial magnates only appeared as the hours of work were reduced and the rates of pay increased ; and in those countries where the rates of pay are highest, you have the wealthiest and most prosperous industries. We must get rid of this fear of wages, unless we want to sink to the level of real low wage countries.

Now, what would be the immediate effect of going over to the seven-hour day? The working classes of Britain number roughly about fourteen millions, of whom about two millions are at present (August, 1935) out of employment. That is to say, about one-seventh. Therefore, by reducing the working-day to seven hours, one and three-quarter millions of the army of workless would, logically speaking, be absorbed forthwith. Many of the remainder would be, alas, unemployable, and many would be quite old. The re-employed would have money to spend and they would need to spend it. The demand created by this mass of new workers would be so great as to call for the employment of the remainder who were employable, and more. There would be a demand for everything : for houses, for factories, for railway stations, for shops, for cinemas, for dancing halls, for restaurants—

yes, for everything. Millions of pounds would be saved in dole money of one sort or another. This would reduce taxation and throw more spending power on the market and increase our possibility of export trade. This in turn would produce a dearth of labour and cause wages to rise. That would mean more internal purchasing power, and a rise in the price of commodities which would increase the dividends payable to shareholders (which our twentieth-century economists have been trying to do by burning wheat, sinking coffee in the seas, paying farmers not to work and other sorts of "new deals"). Again more money to spend. More theatres, more dances, more dresses, more shoes, more everything. More cars would have to be built, more telephones would be required, there would be a demand for more wireless sets. More people would be going to the seaside and the country. More railways would have to be constructed or improved. . . . The country would be on its feet once again and the unemployment question solved.

There is no other way. Any temporary expedient is no good. You cannot make the machine progress and dam the progress of civilization at the same time. And you cannot make the machine go ever faster and faster and expect the workers with that machine to be tied down to their nineteenth-century trot. There is no solution of unemployment but to go over to the seven-hour day, and when we have got to the seven-hour day we shall have to start getting ready to go on to the six-hour day, otherwise we shall once more be overtaken by the progress of the machine and then have the same trouble all over again.

But that is not all. We must face the progress of civilization as well as the progress of the machine. All progress runs on parallel lines. By decreasing hours of work and increasing purchasing power you will produce a dearth of labour, which is going to give greatly increased political power to the working classes. This fact will have to be faced and faced bravely. If you attempt to crush that rising power you are going to put the pendulum back again. You can only crush it by lowering purchasing

power and increasing the hours of work, which will land you back in the old marasmus of unemployment. The question now is: are we going forward to meet this rising power fairly or are we going to wait until we are surprised by an upheaval?

The sensible way, of course, is to prepare the way and thus avoid any violent shocks or clashes. If we prepare the way carefully beforehand, when the time arrives each new introduction will fall properly into its right socket and thus cause no unnecessary commotion. As things are, the clash is bound to come, for the simple reason that we are not getting the best out of our country. To tackle the problems of the new era ahead we shall need every ounce of the best brains that our country produces. At present about four-fifths of our people receive a very mediocre education and one-fifth get all the benefits of our best teaching institutions showered upon them, and this one-fifth is not always composed of the people who are worthy of those benefits. How can our country make the progress it should make under these circumstances? It is deprived of practically four-fifths of the intellectual reserves it could draw upon. That certainly cannot be good for any nation. Surely it would be a thousand times better if we were able to draw on the whole of our resources rather than on only one-fifth, and not always the best fifth.

What is needed, then, is a system of equality of opportunity. There is no question here of the equal distribution of wealth, or anything of the kind. It is a matter of giving everybody an equal opportunity of contributing of his or her best for the development and welfare of our nation. At present we are not doing that, and we cannot make the same progress as we should be able to make if we were able to make full use of all we possess in the shape of human material. The whole of our educational system is wrong. It is out of date. It belonged to a time when everybody was educated haphazardly, according to their own ideas, and not to a time when there ought to be co-ordinated education according to the requirements and needs of the country. It is not

sufficient just to be educated for any job that may be likely to fall to a person with a certain standard of education; a human being should be educated for the job that his own capabilities and character are suited to and in which he can best serve the nation. In none of the great nations is education so haphazard and unfair as in England. The French and Germans, even before the War, framed their systems of education with an eye to the welfare of the State. All French children, rich and poor alike, were obliged to attend the primary school. There was no distinction whatsoever. It was free. The children of the rich were obliged to attend and were not even allowed to pay. The object was to infuse the idea of equality into the youngsters at a very tender age, and to show that one Frenchman was as good as another Frenchman. If the children of the wealthier classes were allowed to pay, it would soon produce schools that contained only pupils who paid and that would be the beginning of class distinction, which was against the basic ideas of the Republic. Germany, on the other hand, schooled her children according to the needs of her army. After the sixth form they had the opportunity of passing an examination called "*Einjähriges*." If the pupil passed that examination successfully he obtained the right to serve only one year in the army instead of two. He also had the right to live at home instead of in barracks. After the eighth form they could enter for the "*Abiturientum*"—something equal to our matriculation—which gave the pupil the right to go to the University and also the chance, later on, of qualifying to become an Officer of the Reserve.

In Britain we possess our peculiar public schools. These were originally charity schools but slowly developed into a means of turning out a scholar who would eventually become an excellent public servant. These were the men who formerly served as the foundation on which to build up our civil service and source from which we drew the fine administrators whom we sent abroad. But the need for such people is now passing. Our Colonies

breed their own public servants according to their needs, and India already does so partially. Furthermore, our own scholarships are producing men from the poorest classes upwards, who are better fitted for the present-day civil service than the products of the public schools because, of recent years, such schools are actually breeding a race of snobs, instead of a race with the instinct for public service for which they were formerly famous. Every Tom, Dick or Harry who can afford it aspires to send his son to a public school, simply to obtain the "tone of the public school."

The only way to give equality of opportunity to all is for the schools to be free from beginning to end. There must be no payment for education, even by those who can afford to pay. The very fact that some pupils pay and others do not, constitutes in itself a class-barrier, and that is the very thing that should be avoided when it comes to education. We want to get the very best from all our reserves, and you cannot do this if you are going to have class differences. There must be no preference for anybody. Only two factors should be taken into consideration: the will to work and the capability of the pupil. All pupils must attend the primary school. At the end of the primary school a special board should decide who is fit to go to a secondary school or who not. It must not be a question of who can pay or who cannot, but who has the intelligence or the will to work to be worthy of going there. There's many a navvy's child who, given the opportunity, would have been a wonderful scientist, architect or scholar and there's many a millionaire's son, attending our universities, who would make a wonderful navvy, but who is just wasting valuable room at a university.

I would not have the board base their decision as to a pupil's future on examinations. An examination proves nothing. Some of the very best pupils or students get scared at an examination and can do nothing, whilst others, not nearly so accomplished, can be specially coached by a crammer to pass. The decision should be determined by the work of the pupil during the whole

time he has been at the primary school rather than by an examination at the end of it. If a pupil is considered to possess the intelligence or the will to work to go on to the secondary school he should be sent there.

It is quite true that we have a system of scholarships that allows the clever children of needy parents to attend secondary schools and even a university, but the same thing applies to a scholarship as to an examination. Thousands and thousands of deserving children do not benefit by scholarships. Why should the country be deprived of all this enormous wealth of intellectual reserve just because the parents of the children happen to be poor? Surely it is not good for the country! And why should valuable space in our secondary schools and universities be occupied by the children of the rich, just because they can afford to pay, although they may not be worth it from an intelligence point of view or from their will-to-work capacity. If we are to obtain a hundred per cent development of our country we must treat this matter in the utmost spirit of fairness: those who stay behind must be those whose intelligence or will-to-work does not entitle them to go forward to the secondary schools.

At the end of the secondary schools, again, a board should decide who are to go on to the higher establishments of education and who are to stay behind. In this way we can obtain the fairest system of education that is possible, and the country will get the benefit of it. We shall be drawing on the whole nation for the carrying on of the work of the nation; we shall be getting our best brains and best qualified citizens at the top, and not just relying on a small part of the nation for our governance and administration.

The pupils who did not advance beyond the primary school, would be those indicated for work not requiring special intelligence, each according to his capacity. But the person in this category doing even menial work would not be looked down upon, because he would be serving the nation in the manner he was most fitted for. Besides, if it comes to that, his father might be Prime

Minister and his brother Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and as this system would banish snobbery no person who worked with his hands would be looked down upon. He would be just doing his best in a job that Nature intended him for.

During their passage through the secondary schools the pupils should be carefully watched to see in which direction their psychological characteristics tend, so that it might be known how to direct their future course in life: whether they had a commercial, industrial, artistic or professional temperament. In short what their next step in life was to be. There should also be special schools for those who develop late. It often happens that a young pupil say of twelve years of age shows no signs of promise at all, yet later in life, when grown-up, displays an astonishing development of intelligence. Provision should be made for such persons, so that their later blossoming talents should not be lost. Also, very backward or feeble-minded children should not be sent to the same schools as other children. It only makes them more backward. They are embarrassed in front of their fellow-pupils. Very many of these unfortunate children become quite normal with proper treatment, and the majority of them might become very useful citizens if they were only properly segregated and a specialized system of education adopted, instead of the normal routine. Besides that, very backward or feeble-minded children retard the general *tempo* of the class which, of course, is prejudicial to the progress of the other pupils.

To accomplish all this a complete system of statistics would have to be drawn up to determine the labour requirements of the whole country. At present we only have statistics of the soldiers, sailors, civil servants, government and local government employees that we require for the good running of the nation. We shall have to keep statistics of all trades, arts and professions. We shall have to know how many navvies we require, how many doctors, how many lawyers, how many teachers, how many carpenters, how many masons, how many of everything.

At present, in some parts of the country we have a surfeit of doctors and a scarcity of engineers, whilst in other parts we have a surfeit of engineers and a shortage of doctors. The whole thing is chaotic. It is not enough that a student desires to be a doctor, and has even the gifts for becoming a doctor, if the statistical charts show that we have already too many doctors. His talents must then be made use of in some other direction where there is a shortage, or, at least, not a surplus. If you visit our universities to-day, you will find thousands of young men studying for careers which are at present overcrowded and in which, normally, there will be no hope of making a living when they have finished their studies. Neither their capabilities nor the condition of the market for any special class of service seems to be taken into consideration. Everybody goes in for any career that seems to tickle his fancy, and that's that. There is no system and no plan about the whole thing. Anarchy rules supreme in our system of education.

When we have got the right form of education properly introduced, every attempt should be made to co-ordinate the whole system throughout the whole country. The same books could be used throughout the country in the same sorts of schools and the same pace maintained daily throughout the country. That is to say, if a doctor, for example, and his family had to leave Southampton and go to live in Liverpool, on and from a given day, his children could attend school the following day in Liverpool without having caused much disturbance to their studies. There should be no difficulty at all in carrying out such a plan, especially if the backward and feeble-minded children attend specialized schools.

Then at last we should have the perfect system of education which would make our country one hundred per cent efficient. Each person doing the job he is best fitted for by Nature. Our country getting the best of everybody's services by keen selection among the whole of our inhabitants. Everybody having an equal opportunity of making a success of life.

If we get such a system working then we shall not have

to fear any violent political upheavals because everybody will get the same chance of advancement ; if his will to work or his talents do not entitle him to take advantage of his opportunities, that is his own affair. The nation will be drawing the best from the best, and a nation organized on those lines will be quite capable of coping with all its problems. The best brains will be on top and not just a scanty sprinkling of the best brains as at present. If a nation thus constituted is not capable of facing its problems then no nation ever will be. Should the question happen to arise about having to reduce, say, a six-hour day to five hours it will not be a matter of a squabble between industrialist and worker, because neither will have inherited his position of industrialist or worker from his parents ; the Prime Minister may be a navy's son, the Prime Minister's son a navy. The question of tradition will be a thing of the past. The traditional working classes and the hereditary leisure classes will be a thing of the past, for the simple reason that there will be equality of opportunity for everybody and the laws of the country will be made to suit everybody. Not as at present, the party in power trying to do its best to pass laws that suit the interests of their class, according to whether it be a Socialist or a Conservative Government in power : the Conservatives struggling to maintain the existing order of things, the Socialists fighting to improve the standard of living of the working classes, of necessity, requiring a radical change in the existing order.

We need not speculate on the future of Party politics in the new State. A nation built on these principles will be able to decide for itself whether capitalism is to be maintained or destroyed, whether industry is to become organized nationally or remain individualistically subdivided, whether the House of Lords is to be abolished or reformed. There will be no more class warfare ; class warfare will be a thing of the past. There will be equal opportunities for everybody and everybody will get where his gifts, and not his heritage, entitle him to go.

This system must produce, in time, the perfect State.

The aim of real patriotism is to make one's own country the best possible. It is not patriotism to boast of our having the largest export trade in the world if we still have two millions of unemployed, and a large part of our employed population existing on starvation wages, according to the present cost of living. There is not much patriotism in boasting about our having some of the finest residential habitations in the world, when we also have some of the most terrible dwellings that it is possible to find, incomparably worse than anything that exists in the most backward countries of Europe.

The seven-hour day should definitely solve our unemployment troubles, although the hard core of unemployment is nearly thirty-five years old and will take some softening. The system of reforming our school system so as to ensure equality of opportunity should bring our country up to the very highest stage of progress and civilization. It is impossible to get as much energy out of an engine that is only using twenty per cent of its power—and not always the best fuel—as when using a hundred per cent of its force. The same applies to nations. Give the nation the help of all its best brains, and you will get the best out of the nation. There is nothing in these proposals that the most traditional Tory could not agree to and nothing that the most advanced Socialist could object to. Once get our country on such a footing, and it will not be long before other nations will follow in our wake, when they see the results. That is the lead we should give the world. In that direction lies our duty: to lead the world back to common sense, out of all this anarchy and chaos.

Epilogue

SO Italy has finally decided to chance her arm in Abyssinia. The duration of this campaign will not depend so much upon Italy as on the Abyssinians. If the Abyssinians are going to keep their victory over the Italians, at Adowa, before their eyes and try to emulate that historical feat they will get wiped out in one battle. But if they will play the same game as the Riffs are playing with the Spaniards, and have been playing for the last thirty years, they can keep Italy on the move for the next five or, perhaps, ten years. Then the question will be, can the interior conditions of Italy itself stand such a long drawn-out colonial campaign and such a draining of Italian resources? Is Italy sufficiently stable financially and politically to be able to face up to a long campaign of this description? Has the Duce himself sufficient command over the whole Italian nation to allow him to go forward with such a long and wearisome settling up of the nearly fifty-year-old Abyssinian question, because it must not be forgotten that Italy laid claim to a Protectorate over Abyssinia as far back as 1889. Or will it mean that Mussolini will lose his hold over the popular imagination and come crashing to earth with the whole fabric of Fascism toppling over him

The Spaniards have been actually engaged in the Riff since 1906. In 1919 they determined to have a proper push on a European scale. A very large army was sent to the Riff country with thousands of cannons, millions of rounds of ammunition, aeroplanes, gas and everything of the most modern in the way of warfare implements, all purchased from the Allies, who had just finished their own war. Spain was then very rich and had resources of every kind at her command. They

made some progress to start with. However, in 1921, two years later, the Riffs turned on the Spanish army at Anual, and of the nineteen thousand Spaniards in the battle, sixteen thousand were killed and the remaining three thousand were captured. The Commander-in-Chief, General Silvester, disappeared. Up to this very day the Spaniards themselves do not know if he is dead or alive, or if he committed suicide. You cannot say the Spaniards were not brave, because a campaign in the Riff country is horror in itself, and they lost on the field sixteen thousand of the nineteen thousand men that made up their army. 'That shows they stood their ground. And the Spanish soldiers know more about guerilla warfare than any army in Europe. Added to this, the Riff country is only a few miles away from Spain and not unhealthy, so that there was very little difficulty of transport. Abyssinia is hundreds and hundreds of miles away from Italy and they have to contend with every possible difficulty of transport and fevers of all descriptions. The Riff is not a tenth the size of Abyssinia nor is her terrain so difficult to negotiate. The Spaniards are still pacifying the Riffs.

If France and England combined in supporting the League of Nations the matter would have had an altogether different complexion; but France, in her obsession of Germany, will hardly do anything that may offend Italy. She wants to be able to count upon the help of Italy in a possible future conflict with Germany. That is the policy that is at present ruling the Quai d'Orsay, and it will prevent her taking any definite steps to prevent Italy carrying out her business with Abyssinia or to back up Britain in her wishes to stop the Italo-Abyssinian conflict; if Britain and France were only to stick together on this question it would encourage so many other nations to throw in their lot with us that Italy would simply be obliged to climb down. Britain and France, between them, hold the key to the Italo-Abyssinian question.

France is playing a very dangerous game. In her obsession of Germany she is throwing her very existence

into the hands of Italy. Nevertheless, when a major conflict does appear France will find that Italy will have forgotten all about France's generous attitude towards her in 1935. She will offer herself, or her neutrality, to those combatants who can offer her most. When that great conflict presents itself Italy will definitely want the Soudan, Tunis, Corsica, Nice and Malta. Are we going to give Italy the Soudan? Does Germany mind



Italy having the Soudan? The Soudan would give Italy not only a clear cut from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, but predominance in the whole of North-eastern Africa. Germany would be able to satisfy all Italy's ambitions with regard to the acquisition of territories. That is all that Italy will think of when the time comes. She will not worry about what France did for her in 1935. Her whole history proves that. Nevertheless, France is courting the very same danger by her present attitude towards Italy as she did by her arbitrary

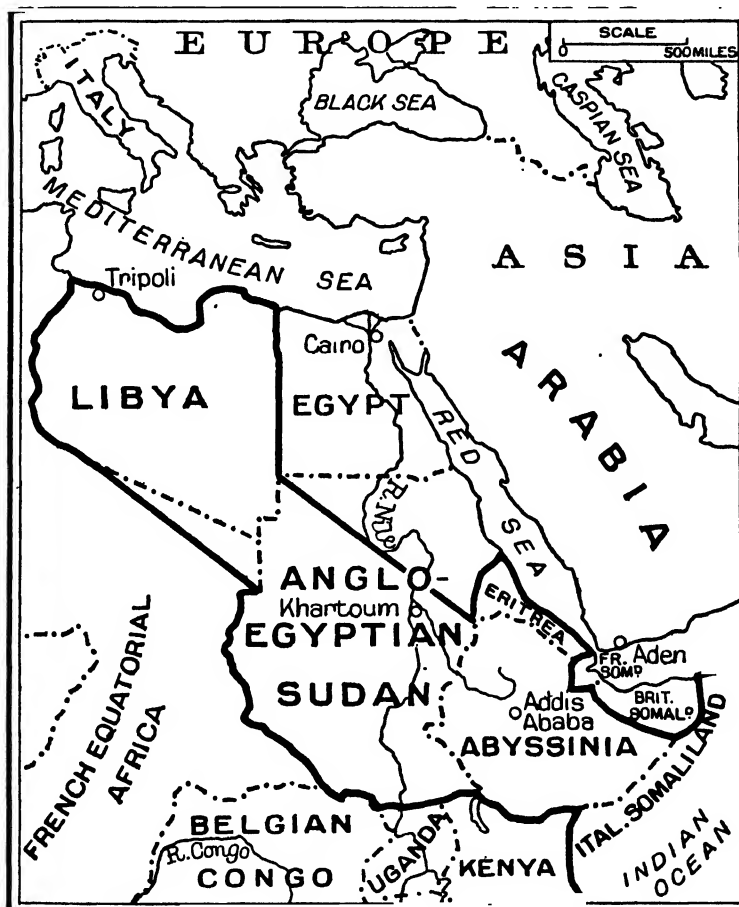
attitude towards Germany after the war. Obsession of Germany will spell the ruin of France.

With regard to our own position in the matter, whether we have taken a wise course or not, history alone will tell us. But the fact does remain that the Italians are playing for very high stakes. The colonization of Abyssinia is only one link in the chain. If you look at a map of the world you will see that Abyssinia lies in a direct line with the Italian colony of Libya. Libya has its coast on the Mediterranean directly over from Italy. The new colony of Abyssinia will have a long frontage on the Indian Ocean. Between these two Italian colonies lies the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan—keeping these two colonies separated, preventing these two colonies from uniting, and thus impeding the Italians from having an all-African road through from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean. In any large-scale conflagration Italy will do exactly what she did in 1915. She will bargain her entry into the war or sell her neutrality as the case may be. England and France have everything that Italy covets. Germany, if successful, will be only too pleased to acquire the assistance of Italian arms by offering Italy whatever belongs to Britain or France. Tunis, Corsica, Nice and Malta already form a part of the Irredenta plan, but with the colonization of Abyssinia, something much greater will be in the air.

Egypt may also be brought in against us. What is to prevent Italy and Egypt coming together on a division of the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan? Italy will take the Western part and Egypt the Eastern part with practically the sole possession of the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. In this way Italy will have a colony extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean. She will hold the key position of the Western world for any future war after that. She will be able to offer her assistance to Japan or to India against Britain if we do not acquiesce in her demands in any future dispute.

The colonization of Abyssinia is by far the most difficult part of the task. The rest will be relatively easy. Abyssinia is mountainous, with a hostile popula-

tion. The Western Soudan is fairly flat and we do not know that the population will be hostile to an Italy that has been victorious in Abyssinia. That undoubtedly is the great Fascist Empire spoken of—and probably



dreamt of—by Mussolini. Abyssinia is only a stepping-stone in the march towards the realization of this vision. Abyssinia is not the stake that Italy is playing for in the year 1935. The stake is one of the future: the domination of the whole of North-eastern Africa, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean.

Italy has done nothing else but take advantage of the chaos that is reigning in Europe. If we had had a united Europe—united in peace—we should have all united against this move. France is obsessed by fear of Germany. Spain is wrapped up in her own internal quarrels. The Middle East is one seething cauldron of jealousy and hatred, every State distrusting its neighbour. Italy saw Germany throw off its shackles. She saw Japan bite its teeth into Manchuria and she has seized the opportunity to make the going good while it lasts. Do not blame Italy ; blame Europe.



**YOU
HAVE BEEN
WARNED**

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